HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume VIII Number 1/2 June 1984

THE KIEV MOHYLA ACADEMY

Commemorating
the 350th Anniversary of
its Founding (1632)

Ukrainian Research Institute
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

A generous subsidy toward the publication of
this issue has been provided by
the Jarema S. Kurdydyk Trust of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc.

ISSN 0363-5570
Published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Typography by Brevis Press, Bethany, Conn., and
the Computer Based Laboratory, Harvard University.

Printed by Cushing-Malloy Lithographers, Ann Arbor, Mich.

CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS

Omeljan Pritsak is Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History and director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

Ihor Ševčenko is Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History and Literature and associate director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

Natalia Pylypiuk is a Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature at Harvard University.

James Cracraft is associate professor of history at the University of Illinois, Chicago, and a research associate of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University.

George Gajecky is a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

Paulina Lewin is a lecturer in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

Ryszard Łużny is dean and professor of the Philological Faculty of Jagellonian University, Cracow.

Roman Koropeckyj is a Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures at Harvard University and instructor at the University of Ottawa.

Frank E. Sysyn is associate professor of history at Harvard University.

Matei Cazacu is research fellow at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (Section slave) of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris.

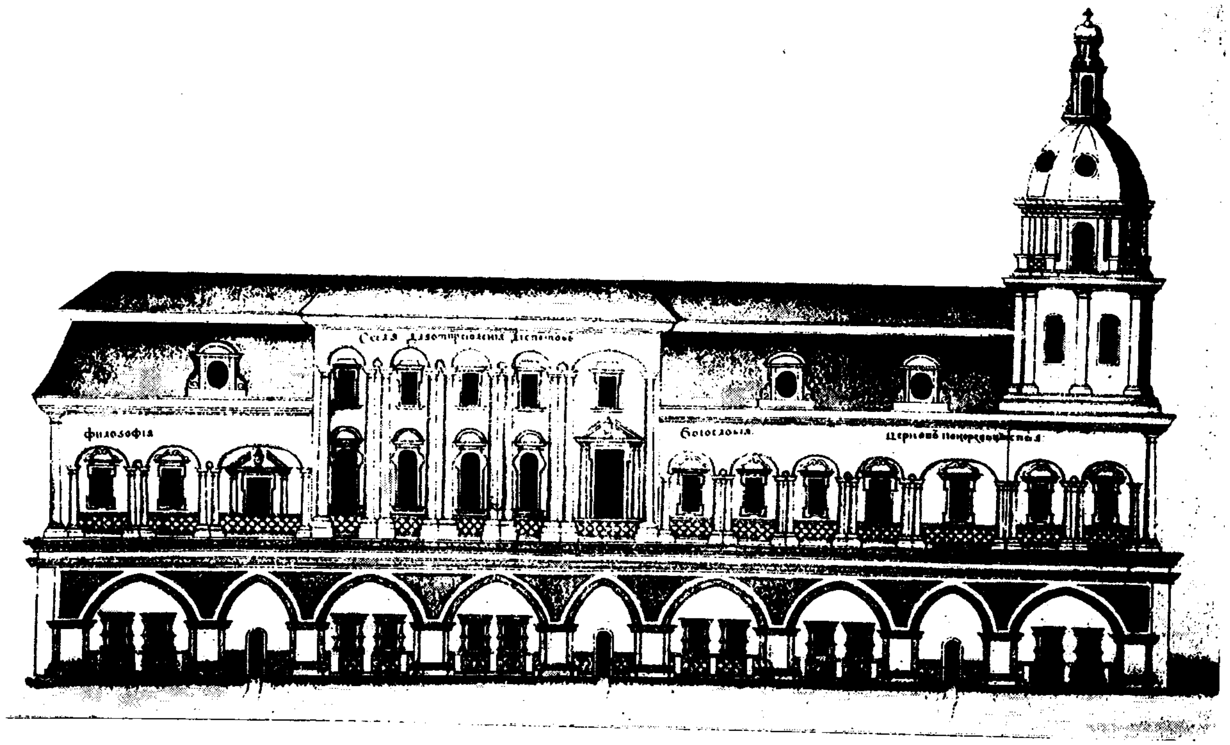
Oksana Procyk is Ukrainian specialist at the Harvard College Library.



Peter Mohyla. Fresco portrait. Church of the Savior at Berestovo. Kiev, 1644/45. (Photo Ševčenko 1970)



Seal of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.



Building of the Kiev Mohyla Academy. Original structure commissioned by Ivan Mazepa and built in 1703–1704; probable architect Josyf Starcev. Renovation with additions in 1732–1740, commissioned by Rafajil Zaborovs'kyj; architect Johann-Gottfried Schädel. Engraving from *Ifika Ijeropolitika* (1760).



Emblematic sh.et to celebrate the birthday of Prokopij Kolačyns'kyj, rector of the Kiev Academy; a choir of students appears in the lower register. Engraving by Inokentij Ščyrs'kyj, 1705.

Foreword

The Kiev Mohyla Academy in Ukrainian History

1.

Almost forty years ago, in the winter of 1943–44, I gave a lecture at the Ukrainian Research Institute of the University of Berlin entitled "Čym bula is ščo dala ukrajinstvu Kyjivs'ka Mohyljans'ka akademija? [What was the Kiev Mohyla Academy and what did it contribute to the Ukrainian identity?]"[1] In that paper I severely criticized the academy on three grounds:

(1) Although both teachers and students were perfectly aware that only seventy years earlier the Poles had transformed their vernacular into a literary language, they made no comparable effort to forge their Ukrainian language into a literary idiom at the Kiev Mohyla Academy, and thereby wasted an opportunity to provide the foundation for the development of a Ukrainian national culture. Instead, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the academy promoted an Orthodox, pre-secular unity, both religious and political, the visible symbol of which was the Church Slavonic *lingua sacra*.

(2) They failed to acknowledge the true character and importance of the revolution led by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (1648–1657). The famed *Sinopsis*, published in Kiev in 1674, completely ignored the Ukrainian Cossacks as a force in the history of the Rus' people; it offered instead an artificial scheme of East European history based on dynastic ties and the "transfer" of the Rus' capital from Kiev to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma to Moscow.

(3) The academy produced highly educated young men who became mercenary traders in the religious and cultural "commodities" of the time. They showed no loyalty to their homeland and no understanding of the emerging Ukrainian Cossack polity.

[1] The lecture was to be published in Lviv in the journal *Students'kyj prapor*, which was discontinued during ensuing military and political events. Last year Professor Bohdan Lonchyna (Detroit), once editor of the student journal, sent me the lecture's typescript, which he had discovered among his private papers.

In the lecture I reached the severe and uncompromising conclusion that the academy's scholasticism delayed the Ukrainian national revival for at least two centuries.

2.

Although taken separately each statement in that lecture of forty years ago retains its validity today, my overall evaluation of the academy's role in Ukrainian history was certainly wrong, because I looked at its development from too narrow a perspective.

Transformation from a pre-secular to a secular worldview has occurred only once in the history of mankind, and that was in West European, Renaissance Catholic civilization. Its precondition was the readiness of Romano-Germanic barbarians to learn and then to absorb Roman intellectual concepts, first in their Christianized version (the Carolingian Renaissance of the ninth century, the scholasticism of the twelfth to the fourteenth century), and then, with the rediscovery of the ancient Greek concept of humanism, in their civic and political form (*civitas, libertas, res publica, consules, patria, senatus, natio,* etc.). The transformation eventually resulted in the replacement of feudal and patrimonial political orders by polities of estates. The Italian Renaissance stimulated intellectual commitment and gave rise to a spirit of limitless discovery; the Reformation, with its concept of man's immediate relation to God, fostered the development of vernaculars. There followed the clear separation of church and state and the birth of secular national cultures based on their respective vernaculars, which through the translation of the Holy Writ acquired the *dignitas* needed to embrace an entire nation.

While these crucial developments were going on in the West, the Rus' state, in the form of the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia, was just suspended between its inherited Orthodoxy and the Latin Catholicism developing in neighboring Hungary and Poland, and then, in 1340, ceased to exist altogether. Since it had remained essentially patrimonial in structure, it disappeared from the political arena with the demise of its dynasty. The only elements of its political past that remained were the Orthodox religion and its tool, the artificial and underdeveloped Church Slavonic language.

The gap between the Catholic progression in the West and the Orthodox standstill in the East was recognized by the Rus'-Ukrainian intellectuals who began to join the new Catholic Polish

polity between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century. Since the patrimonial Rus' state had dissolved before it could become a polity of estates of the Western type, a schizophrenic mentality developed among "progressive" Rus' intellectuals. On the one hand, they sentimentalized their Rus' cultural traditions and thought of them as *gens*. On the other, they regarded Polish Catholic political achievements as constituting a *natio*. In this way it was possible, even acceptable, for an individual to remain at the same time a member of the pre-secular patrimonial *gens* (*gente Ruthenus*) and a member of the Polish Catholic polity of estates or *natio* (*natione Polonus*). The concept of *gente Ruthenus*, *natione Polonus*, fatal for future Ukrainian development, was first formulated by Stanisław Orichovius-Orzechowski (1513–1566), a Roman Catholic canon of Peremyšl' who was himself of Rus' origin.

3.

By the time of the Union of Brest (1596), which, after some 250 years of dormancy, forced the Orthodox Rus' into action, the die had already been cast. The term *gens* in connection with the Orthodox Rus' already meant a people living in a Catholic state, using Church Slavonic rather than their own vernacular as a literary language, without aspiring to statehood or to a secular culture. On the other hand, *natio*, referring to the Polish Catholics, meant a polity of estates having a national secular culture expressed in both Latin and Polish. The Polish *res publica* could readily become *patria* or *ojczyzna* for *gentes* like the Orthodox Rus'.

An aspiring Orthodox activist living in East Central Europe at that time could not afford to belong to any *one* world: he had to be, as Ihor Ševčenko aptly describes Peter Mohyla, a man of many worlds. Mohyla was not an innovator. He was, instead, the most outstanding product of the educational and religious institutions in Eastern Europe of the time. Once in a position of authority, Mohyla simply perfected the system the Orthodox Rus' had developed after reviving Kiev as a cultural center in the wake of the Union of Brest.

Mohyla's main concern was to adopt the latest achievements of Western culture for the purpose of defending Orthodox Rus'. But the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century were no longer a time of Humanism, discovery, and Reformation in the West; they were, instead, a time of Counter-Reformation and the

Baroque. To the universal historian the unusual situation of Rus'—introduced to the Counter-Reformation without having experienced the Reformation, and to the Baroque without having known the Renaissance—is intriguing. It was as if a grand upper story in a modern edifice of culture had been laid out, with no foundation and no floors underneath to hold it up.

Today this is not intended as criticism. Mohyla and his contemporaries did not have the advantage of our three and a half centuries of hindsight. In founding the Mohyla school, they followed the most acclaimed and most modern educational models of their time, in the hope that their efforts would benefit the Orthodox Rus' religious and ethnic communities. In some ways their hopes were realized, as the contributions to this special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* will show.

4.

The fact that in 1979–1980 the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University published a second *Eucharisterion* seemed to commit us to study the milieu that had produced the first—that is, to study the Kiev Mohyla Academy, its founder, its scholars, students, and legacy.

I am grateful to Frank E. Sysyn, associate editor of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, for his initiative in soliciting contributions on all aspects of the historical and cultural acumen of the *Academia Mohyleana*.[2] This special issue of *HUS* is our modest tribute and expression of gratitude to that extraordinary school on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of its founding. May it be a first step in the scholarly investigation and better understanding of our own institutional roots. For academic, intellectual Ukraine, whatever its achievements and failings, has its origin in Peter Mohyla's creation, the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

OMELJAN PRITSAK

[2] In Kiev itself only Kiev State University has commemorated the anniversary. In 1981 it republished Zoja Xyžnjak's *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija*, in a revised second edition.

The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

To be in Kiev during the almost twenty years of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla's ascendancy in that city (1627–1646) must have been a heady experience for many a soul. The Orthodox at large were witnessing the rebirth of their Greek religion and of their Rus' nation. Select groups among them — teachers and students of Mohyla's college, well-established parents sending their sons there, or printers and editors at the press in the Monastery of the Caves (fig. 1, p. 41) of which Mohyla was abbot — could feel that they were playing an important part in bringing about that rebirth. Some helped by teaching, supporting, or learning the new "sciences," others by enlisting modern technology in the service of a sacred cause. In several quarters, spirits were uplifted and minds were expanding.

My essay will be devoted primarily to these two lively and optimistic decades in Kiev's intellectual life. It will deal with the early years of Mohyla and of his educational enterprise; with the intellectual horizons of the metropolitan and of the students in his newly created college in Kiev; and with the attitude the college and its founder displayed toward the Polish Commonwealth and the Cossacks. I shall only occasionally touch upon the subsequent history and influence exerted by Mohyla's college, which was raised to the rank of an academy toward the very end of the seventeenth century. I shall, however, close with some remarks on what Mohyla's school may have contributed to the growth of Ukrainian historical and national consciousness.*

* By way of experiment, I adopted the transcription rules proposed by O. A. Bevzo, "Pro pravyla drukuvannja istoryčnyx dokumentiv, pysanyx ukrajins'koju movoju v XVI–XVIII st.," *Visnyk Akademiji nauk URSR,* 1958, no. 2, pp. 12–26 (cf. esp. 23–25), for proper names and texts written in the vernacular. For titles of books and for texts written (or purporting to be written) in Slavonic, I used the simplified conventional transliteration (except for rendering of г by h rather than g). The terms *Rossija* and *rossijs'kyj* have been translated as "Rus'" and "Ruthen-

I

The Kievan Epiphany *Bratstvo,* a religious confraternity of laymen and clergy, was founded in 1615. It obtained the rank of a *stauropēgion* — that is, a foundation directly protected by the patriarch of Constantinople — through a charter issued in 1620 by Theophanes, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who acted as Constantinople's plenipotentiary. The same charter sanctioned the Confraternity's school, which it called a school of Helleno-Slavonic and — significantly — Latin scripture. The year 1620, which saw the "illegal" re-establishment of an Orthodox hierarchy in the Ukraine and in Belorussia by the same Theophanes, was thus also a milestone for an educational upsurge in Kiev. The corresponding secular privilege for the Confraternity was issued by the Polish king Sigismund III in 1629.

The directorship of the Confraternity school was an important post; it was held by people drawn from the ranks of the Orthodox intellectual elite. Iov Borec'kyj, the first metropolitan of Kiev of the restored hierarchy of 1620, was director between 1615 and 1619 and a superior of the school until 1631. Other prominent intellectuals, both laymen and ecclesiastics, among the officers of the school were Vasyl' Berezec'kyj the jurist, Meletij Smotryc'kyj (1618? 1626/28?), whose name is familiar to Slavic philologists, Kasijan Sakovyč, and Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj, archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves. Such was the state of Orthodox education in Kiev when Peter Mohyla appeared on the scene, to strengthen and broaden the new concepts that were already making their way in that education.[1]

ian," respectively, for in texts written in Mohyla's lifetime and within his jurisdiction these terms mean "Rus'" or "belonging to Rus'" within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as opposed to *Moskva* 'Muscovy' and *moskovs'kyj* 'Muscovite'. To allow control and to avoid confusion with cases where "Rus'," "Ruthenian" translates *Rus', rus'kyj,* all renderings of the terms *Rossija* and *rossijs'kyj* are followed by the original form in brackets. Thus: "Ruthenian nation (*narodu rossijs'koho*)." To designate written languages of the time, I adopted "Ruthenian" for the relatively unified language written in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the territories of Rus' (that is, in the Ukraine, in Belorussia, and in parts of Lithuania); "Ukrainian" for Ruthenian with significant Ukrainian elements; and simply "Slavonic" for what I would like to call Vulgar Church Slavonic — a language in principle obeying the grammar of Old Church Slavonic and based on its vocabulary, but permeated with morphological and lexical elements belonging to later stages of various Slavic languages, with the local language providing most intrusions.

[1] On confraternities (brotherhoods) and their educational activity, cf., e.g., S. T. Golubev, *Istorija Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii,* I. *Period domogiljanskij* (Kiev,

Mohyla (in Roumanian Movilă, meaning "hill" or "mountain") came from the family of Moldavian hospodars.[2] Moldavia originally depended ecclesiastically on Halyč, and when the Poles, as successors

---

1886) (inaccessible to me); K. V. Xarlampovič, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye školy XVI i načala XVII veka . . .* (Kazan', 1898), pp. 187ff.; E. N. Medynskij, *Bratskie školy Ukrainy i Belorussii v XVI–XVII vv. i ix rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiej* (Moscow, 1954), and the two good works by Ja. D. Isajevyč, *Bratstva ta jix rol' v rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1966), and *Džerela z istoriji ukrajins'koji kul'tury doby feodalizmu* (Kiev, 1972). Some information on confraternities can be derived from several books mentioned in the next note. For the various charters of Patriarch Theophanes, cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye Vremennoju kommisieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov . . .*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1846), nos. III–V, pp. 49–85 (cf. esp. 66, 70); for King Sigismund III's privilege, cf. ibid., no. VI, pp. 86–92. — On the later years of the Confraternity school and the early ones of that of Mohyla, cf. the interesting *Autobiographical Note* by Rev. Ihnatij Jevlevyč (Iewlewicz), ed. S. T. Golubev, in the *Universitetskie izvestija* of Kiev, 26, no. 5 (May 1886): 74–79. We learn from Jevlevyč (p. 75) that the Confraternity school had classes of *infima, grammatica,* and *syntaxima,* an indication that Western educational patterns had been introduced in Kiev before Mohyla.

[2] For a first approach to the vast literature on Mohyla and his college and academy, cf. the references in L. Je. Maxnovec', *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), pp. 415–27, to which add the items cited in my "Agapetus East and West: The Fate of a Byzantine Mirror of Princes," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 16 (1978): 30, fn. 96. Furthermore, cf. Hugh F. Graham, "Peter Mogila—Metropolitan of Kiev," *Russian Review* 14 (October 1955): 345–56 (here Mohyla is viewed from the All-Russian vantage point); V. S. Pakulin, entry "Mogila" in *Sovetskaja istoričeskaja ènciklopedija* 9 (1966), col. 537; A. Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla j pytannja jednosty cerkov* [= Ukrainian Free University Series: Monographs, 17] (Paris, 1969) (bibliography); W. K. Medlin and Ch. G. Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia* (Geneva, 1971), esp. pp. 124–49 (several inexactitudes); H. Kowalska, entry "Mohiła (Moghilă, Movilă) Piotr," in *Polski słownik biograficzny* 21, no. 3 (1976): 568–72 (level-headed; interested in Union negotiations; bibliography); A. Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* [= University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, 1] (Ottawa, 1977) (bibliography); H. F. Graham, entry "Mogila, Petr Simeonovich (1596–1647)," in *The Modern Encyclopaedia of Russian and Soviet History* 23 (1981): 9–12 (some bibliography); and Z. I. Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija,* 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1981). Several works quoted in subsequent notes contain portrayals of the metropolitan. Among older publications, I wish to single out A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes-Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1938, but completed by 1931), esp. pp. 239–88, "L'Académie de Kiev," and 289–307, "Conclusion," for the sharpness of its sight, its ample recourse to sources (including Titov's *Materijaly*), and its plausible thesis that in Mohyla's time most of the Ruthenian Orthodox elite was loyal to the Polish Crown. Cf. the sympathetic, if guardedly critical, review of Martel by J. Šerex (George Y. Shevelov) in *Ukrajina* (Paris), 2 (1949): 99–107. In documenting statements by Mohyla or his circle, I made liberal use of Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI–XVIII vv. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv* [= Ukrajins'ka akademija nauk, Zbirnyk istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu, 17] (Kiev, 1924).

to the Halyč principality, extended their protectorate over Moldavia (by then inhabited by speakers of a Roumanian dialect) they insisted on maintaining Moldavia's ecclesiastical dependence on Halyč. Despite the establishment (in 1401) of a separate Moldavian metropolitan see with residence in Suceava (Sučava), Moldavia remained in touch with western Rus', partly because its vassalage to Poland was renewed (1402) and partly because in Moldavia the main language of administration and of the church was Slavonic — a vehicle that continued to be used (if to a lesser extent as time progressed) into the eighteenth century in official acts and in contacts with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Polish, too, was introduced in Moldavia. The treaties of 1519 and 1527 between Sigismund I and Hospodar Stephen were written in that language, as was some of the correspondence of the L'viv burghers and the L'viv confraternity with the hospodars. Ruthenian had its share in this correspondence as well: for instance, Symeon Mohyla, the father of our Peter, wrote to the L'viv confraternity in that language. Religious polemical literature of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries, written in Ruthenian and Polish, also reached Moldavia, largely through the L'viv confraternity. In turn, many hospodars were benefactors of the confraternity, as they were of other Orthodox establishments outside their frontiers, for instance, the monasteries of Mount Athos and the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.

The Mohyla family was granted the rights of indigenous nobility in the Commonwealth in 1593. In 1595 Jeremiah Mohyla became hospodar as a vassal of Poland; his brother Symeon, father of Peter, was a vassal hospodar as well. Peter Mohyla, who spent his childhood in Moldavia, is reported — in a single source of dubious authority — to have studied in France after his father's death in 1608. He moved to Poland when the fortunes of his family declined in Moldavia. In 1617 he was at the court of Hetman Żółkiewski; in 1621 he took part in the Battle of Xotyn' (Chocim) against the Turks at the side of the victorious Lithuanian grand hetman Chodkiewicz. He then moved to the Ukraine, bought landed property near Kiev, and entered monastic orders at the city's Monastery of the Caves in 1625.

In spite of this Western background and friendly stance toward Poland, the Mohyla family, including Peter, were ardent supporters of Orthodoxy. Some time after 1628, when Mohyla finally became archimandrite of the Caves Monastery, he set about establishing a school there. He intended to create an institution which would keep Eastern

Orthodoxy untouched and properly taught, but would avoid the drawbacks of Confraternity schools. Instruction at his school was to attain the level of Western — which in practical terms meant Polish — education and thus make unnecessary sending Orthodox youth to the West in quest of learning. In short, his school at the Caves Monastery was to be not so much a Helleno-Slavonic as a Latino-Polish one. That made his enterprise suspect to Orthodox zealots.

To avoid Orthodox attacks, in 1631 Mohyla secured the blessings of the patriarch of Constantinople for the foundation of what a contemporary witness described as a school of Latin and Polish sciences. When in the fall of the same year instruction began for the more than hundred pupils in the newly created school, located near the Caves Monastery, Kiev's Orthodox zealots spread unfriendly rumors about what was being taught there, and the teachers at the school were accused of pro-Uniate leanings. This upset the lower classes and when the Cossacks, too, learned about the accusations, Mohyla was in jeopardy: both his teachers and he himself were presumably threatened with death for introducing Latin and Polish in the school. As one of the teachers (and a future metropolitan of Kiev), Syl'vester Kossov, said in his *Exegesis* of 1635, Mohyla's opponents intended to stuff the sturgeons of the Dnieper with the teachers of the school — a bit of incidental information precious both to the intellectual historian and to the historical ichthyologist.[3] Acting with skill, Mohyla reached a compromise by agreeing to a fusion of his Caves school with that of the Kiev confraternity, situated in Kiev's Podil district; and for a number of years instruction was given in that part of the city. The fusion, implemented during the school recess of 1632, is attested in several documents, two of which involve the Cossacks. In an important statement, dated 12 March 1632 from Kaniv, the Cossack hetman Ivan Petryžyc'kyj and the Zaporozhian Cossacks extended their protection over the school founded by Mohyla; in a letter of 17 March 1632,

[3] For "better than one hundred" pupils in the first year of Mohyla's school, cf. the *Note* by Jevlevyč (as in fn. 1 above), p. 77. For the sturgeons, cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 8, 1 (Kiev, 1914), esp. p. 423: "Był ten szas [sic], żechmy się wyspowiadawszy, tylko iòż oczekiwali, póki nami . . . dnieprowych jesiotrów nadziewać zechcą, abo póki iednego ogniem, drugiego mieczem na drugi świat zasłą." For a discussion of Mohyla's foes in the 1630s and an analysis of Kossov's apology of Mohyla's school, cf. Ju. Geryč, "*Exegesis* Syl'vestra Kosova (1635 r.)," in a number of issues of *Logos,* 9–12 (Yorkton, Sask., 1958–61). On Mohyla's and the teachers' lives being threatened by "ignorant popes and Cossacks," cf. also the testimony of Gabriel Domec'kyj, quoted in S. Golubev, *Kievskij metropolit Petr Mogila . . . ,* vol. 1 (1883), p. 436.

the hetman bade the local Cossack *ataman* to support the union of the Confraternity's with Mohyla's school.[4]

The Latin character of the new school, offensive to the Orthodox zealots, was also repugnant to the Jesuits and to certain high officials of the Crown, including Vice-Chancellor Thomas Zamoyski, who were unwilling to yield the monopoly in higher learning to the benighted Ruthenians. The Jesuits, in particular, fearing competition for their own schools in the Ukraine (their first foundation, in Kiev's Podil, dated from about 1620), exerted pressure upon the government. Accordingly, in 1634 King Władysław IV ordered Mohyla to abolish the Latin schools and Latin printing presses under his jurisdiction and to use the rights granted him "with moderation."

In spite of this, a year later (1635), the king confirmed Mohyla's school in Kiev. Not as an academy, it is true; it would have no jurisdiction of its own and no subjects beyond dialectics and logic — that is, no theology — were to be taught there. However, the king yielded on the point of Latin and allowed liberal arts (*humaniora*) to be taught "in scholis Kijoviensibus . . . Graece et Latine." Note the modest term *scholis*: it appears that an academy which would prepare an elite for service in Rus' was considered more inconvenient to the policies of the Catholic state than a re-established Orthodox hierarchy. The latter, it was continuously hoped, could be persuaded to join the Union, especially if a Uniate patriarchate of Kiev were created and the patriarchal throne were offered to Mohyla — a bait he refused to take, either in 1636 or in later years.[5] Mohyla's dream of an academy was not to be fulfilled in his lifetime, and his school remained the *Collegium Kijoviense Mohileanum* until the end of the century. For all that, it was the most important of the schools in the Ukraine under Mohyla's supervision, others being, for instance, those of Kremjanec' (Krze-

[4] For documents concerning the fusion, cf. *Pamjatniki* (1846) . . . (as in fn. 1 above), nos. VIII–X, pp. 101–143; Petryžyc'kyj's statement of 12 March 1632 was later confirmed by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and his son Jurij, cf. ibid., p. 143. For Petryžyc'kyj's letter of 17 March 1632, cf., e.g. *Pamjatniki izdannye Kievskoju kommissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1897), pp. 421–22, reprinted in Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 216. Cf. also the *Note* by Jevlevyč (as in fn. 1 above).

[5] Cf. M. Andrusiak, "Sprawa patriarchatu kijowskiego za Władysława IV," *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działalności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrzewskiego* (L'viv, 1934), pp. 269–285, with sources. Cf. also M. Rechowicz, "Sprawa patariarchatu kościoła 'greckiego' na ziemiach dawnej Polski," *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 49 (1948): 346–52 (inaccessible to me) and A. H. Velykyj, "Anonimnyj projekt Petra Mohyly . . . ," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, ser. 2, vol. 4 (Rome, 1963), pp. 434–97.

mieniec) in Volhynia, and of Vinnycja in the Braclav palatinate (the Vinnycja school was transferred to Hošča around 1640). When Mohyla strived to have his school named an academy, he was trying to give it equal status with the Jesuit schools, such as the Vilnius (Wilno) Academy. No wonder that Mohyla's college borrowed much from the Jesuit system — the enemy was to be fought with the enemy's weapons.

The college's top administration consisted of a rector and a prefect. The rector was also the abbot of the Monastery of the Epiphany Confraternity, a position implying rule over landed property. Consequently, the rector was the college's top budgetary officer; he also taught philosophy and, in a later period, theology. The prefect was the inspector and administrator in charge of supplies and feeding the students; as professor, he taught rhetoric. The regular teachers were assisted by the more gifted students, called *auditores,* who both explained the subjects to their fellow pupils before classes and supervised learning in the dormitory (*bursa*). In doing so, they were following Jesuit practice, but also continuing a mediaeval tradition and functioning somewhat as tutors in English colleges do today.

The curriculum, patterned on the Jesuit model, initially took five years to complete. The classes were called *infima, grammatica, syntaxima,* class of poetics, and class of rhetoric. The first three classes offered mostly instruction in languages: Greek, Latin, Slavonic and Polish; also catechism, ecclesiastical chant, and arithmetic. The poetics class taught what we would call literary theory today, literary genres, and mythology, since every contemporary speech, poem or other writing had to be heavily seasoned with mythological allusions. Most of the textbooks on poetics that remain date from a later period, but two of them are early, and come from 1637 and 1646, respectively. Some of these textbooks, incidentally, were composed by famous personalities such as Symeon Polockij, and Feofan Prokopovyč. All manuals of poetics were written in Latin and Polish with examples drawn both from such classical writers as Martial and from the Polish-Latin poet Matthew Sarbiewski. Later textbooks drew liberally on Polish Renaissance and Baroque poetry (Jan Kochanowski, Samuel Twardowski) for their examples.[6]

[6] On the textbook of 1637 by A. Starnovec'kyj and M. Kotozvars'kyj (known only in a copy of 1910, rediscovered in 1968), cf. V. I. Krekoten', "Kyjivs'ka poetyka 1637 roku," in *Literaturna spadščyna Kyjivs'koji Rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 118–54 (pp. 125–154: Ukrainian trans-

In the class of rhetoric students were taught the rules of composing gratulatory speeches, speeches of thanks, greetings, farewells, and funeral orations. The earliest textbook (based on lectures given in 1635/36) used examples culled both from Erasmus of Rotterdam and Stanisław Orzechowski; the most important one, by Prokopovyč (1706), showed some anti-Polish cultural bias, but was written, like the overwhelming majority of Kiev manuals of rhetoric, in Latin.[7] Plays on biblical subjects were among the students' extracurricular endeavors; at first, they were both composed and performed by pupils. This activity, again patterned on Jesuit practice, was to continue and would culminate in the "tragedokomedia" *Vladimerъ* composed by Prokopovyč and performed by Kiev students as a welcome to Hetman Mazepa in July of 1705.

The class of dialectic provided training in scholastic disputations, an antiquated procedure consisting of questions and answers and subdivisions of the subject. Philosophy was taught according to Aristotle (or his commentators), and in Latin. It was subdivided into logic, physics, metaphysics, and ethics — again, hardly an innovative procedure, but no different from that adopted in most schools of the time. The course lasted three years. As for textbooks, the first one composed by Joseph Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj for the courses of 1639/40 (and still unpublished) was modestly called *Subsidium logicae,* perhaps reflecting the doubts as to whether philosophy was a permissible subject, but the third, written by Innokentij Gizel' for his courses of 1646/47 (it, too, is still unpublished), was called explicitly *Opus totius philosophiae.* Its last part dealt with God and the angels, perhaps a substitute for the absence of a course in theology. To learn this latter sublime subject,

---

lation of the text); cf. also *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo,* 1970, no. 10, p. 77, and I. Ivan'o, *Očerk razvitija èstetičeskoj mysli Ukrainy* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 77 and 83. On other textbooks, cf. R. Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska . . .* [= Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego CXLII, Prace historycznoliterackie, Zeszyt 11] (Cracow, 1966), pp. 22–107 (still the best), and D. S. Nalyvajko, "Kyjivs'ki poetyky XVII-počatku XVIII st. v konteksti evropejs'koho literaturnoho procesu," in *Literaturna spadščyna* (as in this fn., above), pp. 155–195.

[7] For a bibliographical description of textbooks of rhetorics produced in Mohyla's college and academy, cf. Ja. M. Stratij, V. D. Litvinov, V. A. Andruško, *Opisanie kursov filosofii i ritoriki professorov Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 11–136 (127 items). Nine out of ten books of Prokopovyč's Latin textbook can now be read in Ukrainian translation; cf. V. I. Šynkaruk et al., eds., *F. Prokopovyč, Filosofs'ki tvory,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1979), pp. 101–433 [Book IX, *On Sacred Eloquence,* has been omitted].

more gifted pupils were sent to Catholic academies in Vilnius and Zamość or even abroad.[8]

II

Mohyla was consecrated as a Crown-approved metropolitan of Kiev in 1633. While introducing reforms into the liturgical practices of his church, he championed the return *ad fontes*; and the sources he had foremost in mind were Greek, even if sometimes they were located in the West — in Venice or even in Eton. Mohyla best expressed his postulate in the prefaces he wrote to the Service Book or Leiturgiarion (*Služebnyk*) of 1639 and to the Sacramentary or Euchologion (*Trebnyk*) of 1646, the last work issued by the Lavra press in his lifetime.

In the preface of 1646, the metropolitan fended off attacks coming from the detractors of his publications, and stressed the basic agreement between the Rus' and Greek sacramentaries. In addition, he professed the aim of eliminating the errors contained in sacramentaries that had been printed in Vilnius, L'viv, and Ostroh at a time when

[8] In his *Note,* Jevlevyč (as in fn. 1 above), p. 77, implies that a class of philosophy was taught in the united schools of the confraternity and Mohyla as early as 1632. He himself attended a three-year course in philosophy in Mohyla's college about 1640. For information on textbooks of philosophy produced in Kiev, cf. M. Stratij and others, *Opisanie kursov* (as in the preceding fn.), pp. 152–324 (cf. esp. pp. 152–65 on the texts by Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj and Gizel'); V. M. Ničik, "Rol' Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii v razvitii otečestvennoj filosofii," in V. D. Beloded and others, *Filosofskaja mysl' v Kieve* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 105–48 (in this chapter's title, "otečestvennyj" has the pre-1914 meaning of "Russian in the broad sense, including Ukrainian and Belorussian"; the main value of Ničik's exercise consists in quotations [in Russian translation] from hitherto unpublished Kievan textbooks on philosophy, logic, and rhetorics. The author deals predominantly with the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries); and I. S. Zaxara, *Bor'ba idej v filosofskoj mysli na Ukraine na rubeže XVII–XVIII vv. (Stefan Javorskij)* (Kiev, 1982), esp. pp. 55–62. For a Russian translation of parts of Gizel's *Opus totius philosophiae,* cf. Ja. M. Stratij, *Problemy natur-filosofii v filosofskoj mysli Ukrainy XVII v.* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 145–187. For Ukrainian translations of other textbooks on logic, philosophy, physics, rhetoric and poetics in the periodical *Filosofs'ka dumka,* between 1970 and 1979, cf. I. K. Bilodid, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija v istoriji sxidnjoslovjans'kyx literaturnyx mov* (Kiev, 1979), p. 75, fn. 70. — Information about the curriculum and organization of Mohyla's college has been culled mostly from A. Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska . . .* (Cracow, 1899–1900) (old but excellent; based on sources), and A. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 107–134. Among other works cited in fn. 2 above (or accessible through that note), cf. also those by S. T. Golubev (especially his essay, "Kievo-mogiljanskaja kollegija pri žizni svoego fundatora, Kievskogo mitropolita Petra Mogily," *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii* 31, no. 12 [1890]: 535–557) and by Xyžnjak.

there was no Orthodox hierarchy — i.e., before 1620 — and when publishers were issuing books for "ill-gotten gains." Such faulty books perpetuated old customs and old prejudices; for instance, they contained a prayer for the midwife who swaddled the child. According to Mohyla, there was no New Testament authority for such a prayer: in passages devoted to the Nativity, the Evangelists implied that the Virgin Mary swaddled her son herself. What did a midwife have to do with all this?[9]

Mohyla declared that in his *Trebnyk* he would provide a standard text based on the Greek sacramentary, and that this text was to supersede all others. In a play on words, he appealed to his readers to stop using the useless usage books (*ponexaj zažyvaty nepotrebnyc' z Trebnykov predrečennyx*), and he castigated those who continued to refer to such sacramentaries.[10] In doing so he showed the same

[9] Mohyla may have been technically right here, but pictorial representations of a midwife at Christ's birth do exist and go back to about the year 700. Moreover, a prayer mentioning the midwife at Christ's birth does occur in some Greek Euchologia; cf. S. Golubev in *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 9 (Kiev, 1893), p. 104 and fn. 1.

[10] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 51, pp. 367–73. Cf. esp. pp. 370–71: ". . . I saw at all times that our enemies and the false brothers of Holy Orthodoxy weighed heavily upon and did violence to the Orthodox by various acts of malice and offense; and that they brazenly called our priests ignoramuses and ruffians when it came to dispensing and celebrating the Holy Sacraments and ⟨performing⟩ other liturgical functions. They clamored that Orthodox Rus' had turned heretic, that she was ignorant of the number, form, matter, intention and effect of the Holy Sacraments, ⟨that she⟩ was unable to render account of them, and ⟨that she⟩ followed divers ways in the performance of the Holy Sacraments. Having labored according to my lights on behalf of Jesus Who granted me strength, I took upon myself to lift ⟨the burden of⟩ such a heavy scorn by the Foe from the enlightened Orthodox congregation of the Holy Church of Rus' (*rossijs'koji*). By the Grace of God my labors were not in vain, as may be gathered by any enlightened and pious reader of the present book called the *Trebnyk*. If you read it, enlightened reader, you will recognize that it is a singular calumny ⟨to assert⟩ that Rus', in the persons of her prelates and other superiors, might be deficient in the requisite doctrine concerning her salvation, ⟨a doctrine received⟩ from the Holy Ghost Who is always present in the Holy Church. Church books, translated by the divinely inspired men from the Greek into the Slavonic tongue, and containing the true and sublime theology, are proof of this. . . . Whoever so wishes, should collate Greek manuscript *Euchologia* with our Rus' ones; he will find without fail that they are in essential accord concerning the performance and application of the seven Divine Ecclesiastical Sacraments." For Mohyla's preface to the 1639 edition of the Leitourgiarion or *Služebnyk*, cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, pp. 213–19. Cf. esp. p. 216 on "striving for gain" by printers of the previous Slavic books; p. 217 on the high value of Greek models and on Ruthenian and Muscovite service books and on the distinction between "our" and "Muscovite" service books (which, too, are considered to be of high value); and p. 218 for a quotation from St. Augustine and for an attack on L'viv printers.

attitude, the same purifying and renovating spirit, and the same reliance on Greek standards that Patriarch Nikon was to show in Muscovy some years later.

For all such justified praises of the Greek as the appropriate source for improved Slavonic texts, Greek and Slavonic soon diminished in importance in Kievan printing and education, and the school of Mohyla became more and more Latinized and Polonized.[11] There were valid reasons for the shift. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Greek was no longer a language of modern thought, and Old Church Slavonic never had been. It was taught because it was the language of Orthodox ecclesiastical texts. The right of the Orthodox to use Latin and Polish in their teaching, however, continued to be challenged not only by the Orthodox zealots and by Catholics led by the Jesuits, but also by the Uniates. Mohyla had to reassert this right in the forties of the seventeenth century. In his *Lithos or Stone* (1644), he admitted that Rus' needed a knowledge of Greek and Church Slavonic for religious purposes. But for political activity, he claimed, it needed not only Polish, but also Latin, because people of the Polish Crown lands used Latin as if it were their mother tongue. In both chambers of parliament, in the courts, in dealings with the Crown, in all political matters, Ruthenians, as citizens of the Crown, should know the languages without which one could not function in the state. It would be neither right nor decorous for a Ruthenian to speak Greek or Slavonic in front of a member of the Senate or of the Diet, for he would need an interpreter to accompany him wherever he went, and would be taken for a stranger or a simpleton. Even in explaining matters of faith, one should be able to give a reply in the language in

[11] The most vigorous Kievan statement in defense of the Slavonic language (both in the sense of Church Slavonic and in that of "Slavic in general") known to me stems from Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj, Mohyla's predecessor as abbot of the Monastery of the Caves. It dates from 1623; thus it is earlier than Mohyla's appearance on the scene. Even this forceful apology was written in Polonized Ukrainian. It comprised the following four points: that Slavonic was spoken by Japhet and his generation; that Slavonic is naturally appropriate for translating from the Greek; that Latin is poorer in that respect; and that Latin is inferior to Greek, especially in matters of philosophical and theological terminology. By comparison, Pamvo Berynda's incidental praises of the "deeply wise" and "broad" (Church) Slavonic tongue are mild and lack the anti-Latin sting. They were published in 1627; thus they were written when Mohyla was still only a monk at the Monastery of the Caves. For Kopystens'kyj, cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 14, pp. 74–75; for Berynda, cf. ibid., no. 27, p. 178 and no. 28, p. 185. In terms of titles alone, out of 80 books published by the Lavra Press between 1616–1654, 12

which one is asked the question, that is, either in straight Latin or in Polish with ample Latin admixtures.[12]

Consequently, by 1649 Greek was taught in the college only "in part" (*otčasti*). Such was the testimony of the notorious Paisios Ligarides, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who taught in the college for a while and who was to play a nefarious role in the downfall of Nikon, the patriarch of Moscow, several years later. Ligarides may have had a point. The preface to the *Eucharisterion,* the gratulatory tract offered Mohyla in 1632 by the school's pupils, contains an error in Greek, and the Greek fresco inscriptions done about 1643 in the Church of the Savior at Berestovo barely make sense (fig. 2, p. 42).[13] Even Mohyla's own writing of 1631 exhibits some imperfections in Greek and it is only charity that allows us to call them typographical errors.[14] As for the Slavonic and Ruthenian languages, they must have been taught on the basis of local textbooks and dictionaries produced toward the end of the sixteenth century — such as Lavrentij Zyzanij's Grammar and *Leksis* (both printed in Vilnius in 1596) — or issued in the period of the Kiev Confraternity school, such as Meletij Smo-

---

were in Polish or Latin, but Polish items such as the *Paterikon,* the *Teratourgēma* and Mohyla's *Catechism* must have been issued in large editions.

12 *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 9 (Kiev, 1893), pp. 375–77.

13 Ligarides may have been of the opinion that in his time the college had very few teachers who knew Greek, cf. Jabłonowski, *Akademia* (as in fn. 8 above), p. 102; Martel, *La langue polonaise* . . . (as in fn. 2 above), p. 281; this, however, is not borne out by the source quoted in both books as evidence for his alleged view, namely, *Pamjatniki* . . . , 2 (1846) (as in fn. 1 above), no. XIV, p. 190. — Fresco inscriptions at Berestovo: The scroll held by Prophet Zephaniah (cf. fig. 2, p. 42) exhibits the letters ФОNИ И|MEPAΣ K-|YIΠEP K-|AI CKAI|PATAIΔV\| HAΓTИH| łEPAΣ-|AΛΓI'ΓΓ-|OO. Except for the first two words, this is gibberish. To understand it, we must turn to the late Greek painters' manuals, containing instructions about the portraits of the Prophets in the drum of the dome. There, we read, e.g.: "Prophet Zephaniah, an old man with a short beard, says: Φωνὴ ἡμέρας Κυρίου πικρὰ καὶ σκληρά· λέλεκται [*varia lectio*: τέτακται] οὖν αὕτη ἡμέρα σάλπιγγος." 'The voice of the day of the Lord is bitter and harsh; it has been called [*v.l.*: set up as] the day of the trumpet.' Cf. e.g., A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης . . . (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 261–289. The errors on the Prophet scrolls are most probably due to local *amanuenses.* The names of the Prophets themselves are written correctly, probably by Greek painters — for there seems to be Greek inscriptional evidence in the Church of the Savior that the painters of the 1643/44 restoration were Greeks: cf. words ἱστόρησε Γραικῶν δακτύλοις 'provided with pictures by the fingers of the Greeks,' in a fresco poem on one of the walls. The poem is difficult to read.

14 Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 263, 264, 265. The error πεντεκοστάριον on p. 265 (instead of -ντη-) seems to indicate that in ecclesiastical and high style Greek, Mohyla — or his printer — pronounced both η and ε as [e], that is, not in the Byzantine, but in the Erasmian way.

tryc'kyj's Grammar of 1619 and Pamvo Berynda's *Leksikon slaveno-rosskij,* the latter published in the Caves Monastery in 1627.

Polish, more than Latin, was becoming the literary vehicle in the college, even at the printing house of the Caves Monastery. In 1645, Mohyla supplemented the Ruthenian edition of his abbreviated catechism with a Polish one, and the Polish edition was published first. What is more, the two books about the virtues of, and the miracles performed by, the monks of the Caves Monastery throughout its history (the *Paterikon* by Syl'vester Kossov of 1635, and the *Teratourgēma* by Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj of 1638) were written in Polish. The preface to the latter work includes an allusion to Apuleius and Latin words and quotations, one of them from the *Ars Poetica* of Horace.[15] Thus the future linguistic coloring of the college, and later of the academy — which was to remain largely Latin and Polish until about the middle of the eighteenth century, even under Russian domination — developed within a few years of the date of its foundation.

III

Mohyla's educational enterprise reflected the interplay of cultural forces in seventeenth-century Ukraine. The ancestral faith survived in borrowed forms, and admiration for the church poetry of a John of Damascus coexisted with predilection for classical mythological trappings. However, Mohyla's college was what it was also because the man who created it was a man of many worlds. His experience and his contacts — or his plans — encompassed Warsaw, Cracow, possibly some other Polish or Western center of learning, but also Jassy (Iaşi), Constantinople, and even, if to a much lesser degree, Moscow. He could choose the level and language of discourse according to his addressee, and he could combine a Jesuit's sophistication with an Orthodox believer's simple faith in miracles performed by his religion.

It is of some importance to study the use of languages within the seventeenth-century Rus' elite. It appears that most members of that elite understood all four languages involved — Slavonic, Ruthenian, Polish, and Latin. Thus no one language or style was the sole vehicle at the speaker's or writer's disposal for conveying a particular message. A choice was involved, and that choice indicated the cultural commit-

[15] Cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 8, 1 (Kiev, 1914), pp. 473–77, esp. p. 477, and Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), esp. p. 523.

ment or cultural position taken at a given moment. Thus, to his brother Moses, the hospodar of Moldavia, Mohyla wrote in almost pure Slavonic. The foreign quotations of his missive were all Greek, and all other quotations were scriptural. It is astonishing how well Mohyla mastered the Slavonic idiom, which he learned probably from teachers connected with the L'viv confraternity. However, the real concerns of the man and the time put a limit to his linguistic and conceptual mimicry. The missive's Slavonic, good as it was, contained words (such as *političeskaę* and *ceremonii*) that were outside of the Old Church Slavonic canon. When Mohyla described for his brother the duties of the ideal ruler, he was practicing a genre used in the Byzantine world since at least the sixth century. While listing these duties, Mohyla proclaimed that his brother, being a ruler, was to be a benefactor of the church—that was Byzantine enough. But he was also to be a benefactor of schools (*blahodětelju . . . učiliščъ byti*)—this piece of advice I do not remember reading in any mirror of princes addressed to a Byzantine emperor.[16]

Another set of Mohyla's Slavonic writings deals with miracles performed in his own time in the Orthodox church; not exclusively in the Ukraine — for, after all, he was not a Ruthenian, just an Orthodox of many cultures — but also on Ukrainian territory. One of these miracles occurred in the household of his own servant, Stanislav Tretjak. Tretjak had just built a house and asked Mohyla to consecrate it. This Mohyla did, and left some of the holy water behind. When he returned a year later, he was met by Tretjak and his wife, who had kept the water and who claimed that it had changed into wine. Mohyla tasted it. The taste reminded him, he wrote, of Wallachian wine (*vkus aki voloskoho vina*), and he wanted to make sure that no mistake had occurred. After all, the son of the hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia would know his Wallachian wines. When the couple swore that the change was miraculous, Mohyla accepted their word, took the holy water with him, and still had it at the time of writing. The water "had a bouquet and taste of wine, and was not turning to vinegar."[17]

Stories such as this must have been meant for all Orthodox, not only for those of the Ukraine. When Mohyla addressed his own monks,

[16] For the text in question (Mohyla's dedication of the Pentēkostarion [*Cvětnaja Triodъ*] of 1631 to Moses Mohyla), cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 38, pp. 263–66, and D. P. Bogdan, "Les enseignements de Pierre Movilă adressés à son frère Moise Movilă," *Cyrillomethodianum* 1 (1971): 1–25, esp. 19–22..

[17] *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), pp. 113–14.

Kiev churchgoers, or the clerics of his jurisdiction, as he did in his inaugural sermon pronounced in Kiev's Lavra in March of 1632, or in his prefaces to the Service Book of 1639 and to the Sacramentary of 1646, he wrote in Polonized Ukrainian, using such Polish words as *daleko barzěj* 'much more', *pien'knaja* 'beautiful', and *preložonyje* 'superiors', but keeping the Ukrainian *ohon' musyt* (*byti*) 'fire must (be)', *pyšučy* 'writing', *ščo* 'what', and *ščoby* 'in order that'. This mixed language also contained elements of Slavonic, if unauthentic, appearance such as *jedinoutrobně* and *smotrěti.* Most scriptural quotations in the preface to the Sacramentary were in Old Church Slavonic, but some were in the Ruthenian literary language of the time, mixed with Slavonic.

When Mohyla addressed representatives of the Orthodox nobility, whether Bohdan Stetkevič, a Belorussian chamberlain, Theodore Suščans'kyj, a land-scribe of the Kiev palatinate, or Jeremiah Vyšnevec'kyj (Wiśniowiecki), a prince in danger of apostatizing from Orthodoxy, his Ruthenian language was heavily Polonized, his quotations were drawn from Lactantius or St. Augustine, his Christian similes heavily contaminated with bits of pagan wisdom, and his flattery was as artless as the recipient must have been undiscriminating. To his relative Prince Vyšnevec'kyj he wrote: "This venerable cross will be unto your princely grace what the mast was once unto Ulysses, which protected him from the Sirens, that is, the pleasures of this world."[18] We must duly report that Mohyla's reference to Ulysses attached to the mast (a prefiguration of the cross) harkened back to Greek patristic literature of the early fourth century, but we are more interested to note that in naming the hero from Ithaca he used the Latinizing *Ulessesovy,* not a derivative from the Greek *Odysseus.* And when Mohyla spoke of the ancestors of Theodore Proskura Suščans'kyj, a man whose young son, or at least relative, was a student at the college, he spun the following yarn, in which he must have believed as much as he did in Hercules or Apollo. The ancestry of Proskura went back to Vladimir the Great. One of his forebears served Anne, the daughter, so Mohyla seems to have said, of the Byzantine emperor and the wife of Vladimir. This forebear was given the *proskura* (*prosphora,* blessed bread eaten after communion) to be carried from church to palace, and ate it on the way. Hence the family nickname Proskura.

[18] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 39, pp. 268–70, cf. esp. p. 269. Mohyla was dedicating the text of his inaugural sermon of 1632 to Vyšnevec'kyj.

This nickname was attested by Rus' chroniclers, whom, of course, Mohyla failed to specify. Under Svjatoslav, prince of Kiev in 1059 (*sic*), the Proskuras received their coat-of-arms of cross and arrow as a reward for the exploits of one family member in a battle against the infidel Cumans (*hustym trupom pohanskym šyrokoje okryl pole* — at least most of this phrase sounded Ukrainian). We must skip four centuries for the next family exploit, assigned to the reign of King Alexander of Poland (ca. 1500). From then on, it is clear sailing until the time of the recipient of Mohyla's dedication.[19]

To church historians Mohyla is best known as the author or principal co-author of the *Orthodox Confession of Faith,* a treatise consisting of three parts (that corresponded to the three theological virtues) and containing about 260 questions and answers. It was discussed and partly emended at a synod in Jassy (Iaşi) in Moldavia in 1642, and its Greek version was approved by all the four Greek Orthodox patriarchs a year later. The *Confession* was first published in modern Greek in 1667; it had been elaborated in Kiev in 1640, however, and its original language and one of its sources were in all likelihood Latin.[20]

When it comes to vernaculars other than Ruthenian, Mohyla's

[19] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 328–29, and no. 46, pp. 330–33, esp. 331–32. Suščans'kyj was the recipient of the vernacular adaptation of the Church Slavonic translation of the Homiliary wrongly attributed to Kallistos I, patriarch of Constantinople (1350–53; 1355–63); this adaptation was published by Mohyla in 1637 on the basis of the edition of Jev'je (1616). On some of the problems connected with the Slavic printed editions of the Homiliary by Ps.-Kallistos, cf. now D. Gonis, "Carigradskijat patriarx Kalist I i 'Učitelno Evangelie,'" *Palaeobulgarica* 6, no. 2 (1982): 41–55, esp. 53. The coat-of-arms of the Suščans'kyjs is reproduced on the verso of the Homiliary's title, cf. Titov, p. 194. Mohyla's source (indicated in the margin of p. 331) for the origin of that coat-of-arms was the Polish Chronicle of Stryjkowski, "p. 187."

[20] That the *Orthodox Confession* was "originally written in Latin" (Λατινιστὶ πρῶτον γεγραμμένη) is stated by Meletios Syrigos in his autograph manuscript. This is our only explicit evidence, and it is weighty: Syrigos was charged with emending the *Confession*'s text and translated it into Greek in 1642. It is conceivable that the *Confession* could have been originally written in Polish; as yet, there is no proof for this thesis. That it should have been written in Ruthenian is the least likely of all. On the *Confession* and the question of its original language, cf., e.g., A. Malvy and M. Viller, *La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila métropolite de Kiev (1633–1646)*. . . [= Orientalia Christiana, 10] (Rome-Paris, 1927), esp. pp. li–lii (best); Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* . . . (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 169–184 (compilative); R. P. Popivchak, *Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47): Translation and Evaluation of His "Orthodox Confession of Faith" 1640* [= D.S.D. thesis no. 259 of the Catholic University of America] (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 17–18 (compilative; P. reports on the Polish theory by O. Bârlea [1947; inaccessible to me]). On the *Summa* by the Jesuit Canisius (d. 1597) as one source for the *Confession,* cf., e.g., M. Viller, "Une infiltration latine dans la théologie orthodoxe. La Confession orthodoxe attribuée à Pierre Moghila et le catéchisme de Canisius," *Recherches de science religieuse* 3, no. 2 (1912): 159–68

mastery of Polish, both of scholarly and of oratorical variety, is safely attested by his own published writings. Furthermore, there is evidence for Mohyla's knowing some modern Greek and handling it in print and, naturally enough, for his proficiency in spoken Roumanian, but no trace of his ever using Moldavian in writing. Such a find would be unlikely, both on account of the cultural situation of the time — practically speaking, the earliest books in Roumanian, printed by Ukrainian printers dispatched by Mohyla to Wallachia and Moldavia, date only from the 1640s — and on account of the family tradition. The frescoes in the church at Suceviţa, founded and richly endowed by the Movilă family, are all in Slavonic.[21]

In which language did Mohyla write when he did so for his private use? My guess is, in Polish and Ruthenian rather than Slavonic or Latin. It is in Polish that he jotted down notes about commissions he made to various goldsmiths in 1629 (though one such note and two entries he made in books are in Ruthenian). Moreover, it is worth noting that Mohyla chose to write or dictate a deeply personal text, his will, in Polish rather than in Ruthenian or Latin. In that document he richly endowed his beloved college and gave it his library of books in several languages collected throughout his lifetime (this library burned in the 1650s). For these good deeds of his he imposed upon the future generations the obligation of carrying on instruction in Kiev's schools just as it had been carried on in his lifetime under the privileges granted by His Royal Majesty, the Polish king.[22]

(textual parallels; dependence on Canisius in the choice of Scriptural quotations; parallels in the plan of both works; no wholesale borrowings).

21 Mohyla's "Spiritual Speech," given in Jassy before the wedding of Janusz Radziwiłł to Maria, daughter of the Moldavian hospodar Vasilie Lupul, was printed in Kiev in 1645 in Polish (except for Scriptural quotations, all of which were in Old Church Slavonic). Mohyla tells us, however, that he had delivered that speech in the hospodar's church "partly in the Polish, partly in the Wallachian language (*Wołoskim Ięzykiem*)." Cf. *Mowa duchowna przy szlubie Iaśnie Oswieconego P. Jego M. Pana Ianusza Radziwiła . . .* , reprinted in A. Mihăilă, *Contribuţii la istoria culturii şi literaturii române vechi* (Bucharest, 1972), esp. p. 199. I am indebted to Professor Andrzej de Vincenz for a copy of Mihăilă's reprint. For the Slavonic fresco inscriptions in Suceviţa, cf., e.g., M. A. Musicesco, *Le monastère de Suceviţa,* 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1967) (further bibliography on p. 55).

22 To help us decide what Mohyla's "intimate" written language — as opposed to the several languages in which he wrote for public consumption — may have been, we have the evidence of his autograph manuscript, published in *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), pp. 49–189. It is a miscellany, consisting of: (a) a record (pp. 49–132) of miracles wrought by the Orthodox faith in Mohyla's time (we drew upon this record for the story of the Tretjaks); (b) pieces of

IV

On Easter 1632, twenty-three pupils (*spudeov*) of the college, headed by their professor of rhetoric, and presumably the school's prefect,

liturgical poetry (pp. 133–70) composed by Mohyla (including the song in celebration of Władysław IV's ascent to the throne); (c) reflections (pp. 171–180) on monastic life; (d) lists (pp. 181–83) of contributors (with amounts contributed) to the work of restoration in St. Sophia and the Tithe church; (e) notes (pp. 184–85) concerning commissions to goldsmiths; and (f) a catalogue (pp. 186–89) of Latin books Mohyla bought in Warsaw in 1632/33. While the first two miracles (p. 49, localized in Pokuttja "beyond the Dnieper" and in Halyč) and the very last one (pp. 131–32, localized in a town near Thessalonica) are in Ruthenian, almost everything in between is in quite correct Slavonic. Mohyla's liturgical poetry is close to Old Church Slavonic (true, once, on p. 137, he did write *viroju* instead of *věrojǫ*). Reflections on monastic life are in Slavonic. Lists of contributors to repairs of St. Sophia and the Tithe church are in Ruthenian. Notes concerning goldsmiths are in Polish (one note of a similar content being in Ruthenian). Finally, the catalogue of books is in Latin. The choices of Slavonic for liturgical poetry and for reflections on monastic life and of Latin for the book catalogue were imposed by the subject matter. The choice of Ruthenian for the lists of contributors may have had to do with the fact that, with one exception, all these contributors were Ruthenian. These lists were hardly a private document. Moreover, neither the description of Orthodox miracles, nor the poetry, nor the treatise on monasticism could have been written down for private use. These pieces must have been intended for eventual dissemination, some of them in the Orthodox world at large, since their goals were apologetic, edifying, liturgical and, in one case, panegyric. (Thus, the stories of Orthodox miracles are not a "journal"; on the other hand, neither are they evidence for Mohyla's championship of Slavonic as *the* literary language of Rus'.) In sum, when I guess that Polish even more than Ruthenian was the likely vehicle for Mohyla's "private" written language, I do it on the strength of the fact that the most personal of the six documents in Mohyla's autograph manuscript was in Polish. On various written languages of Rus' in our period, cf. the classic (if antiquated) work by P. Žiteckij, *Očerk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII i XVIII vv.*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1889), esp. pp. 15–151, 147–62, and its Ukrainian translation with L. A. Bulaxovs'kyj updating preface: *Narys literaturnoji istoriji ukrajins'koji movy v XVII vici* (L'viv, 1941), esp. pp. 1–44, and 119–31; the reliable Martel, *La langue polonaise* (as in fn. 2 above), passim; the excellent essay by George Y. Shevelov, "L'ukrainien littéraire," *Revue des études slaves* 33 (1956): esp. pp. 73–76 (cf. its English translation in A. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz, eds., *The Slavic Literary Languages*, New Haven, 1980), and, for the same author's latest views, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), §43:3 = pp. 566–71 (succinct but also well balanced). Interpretations in these works differ from the "functional" one offered here. In spite of its promising title, the chapter "Movna koncepcija Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji," in Bilodid, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (as in fn. 8 above), pp. 48–84, is of little use to anyone interested in the interplay of languages in seventeenth-century Rus'. On reasons for the use of various levels of language in seventeenth-century prefaces, cf. the good observations by Sazonova, "Ukrainskie . . . predislovija" (as in fn. 41 below), esp. p. 185. — For Mohyla's testament, cf. *Pamjatniki* . . . , 2 (1846) (as in fn. 1 above), no. XI, pp. 144–81 and *Pamjatniki izdannye* . . . , (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), no. XVI, pp. 429–39. The latter text was reprinted by Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 21, pp. 244–47. For Mohyla's Ruthenian (or even Ukrainian) entries in books he owned, cf. the *Addendum* to this fn. at the end of the present article.

Sofronij Počas'kyj, submitted to Mohyla a versified pamphlet of thanks called *Eucharisterion.*[23] The pamphlet, with a preface in prose signed by the professor (who used two Greek quotations), had two parts. Both give an idea of the horizon of the young men beginning their study in the newly founded college and of the cultural values inculcated into them.

The first part of the pamphlet is entitled *Helikon*: Mohyla's grateful pupils erect that mountain of the Muses as a poetic act of gratitude to him. Their poem is also called the First Garden of Knowledge; eight "roots" appear in it, each of them described in verses signed by their student author, or at least reciter. The "roots" are Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, and Theology, that is, the mediaeval *trivium* and *quadrivium* in the usual sequence, plus theology. (The appearance of theology expressed the hopes and early aspirations of the school's authorities rather than subsequent reality, for, as we already know, the royal charter of 1635 did not grant the college the right of teaching that science.) *Helikon,* or New *Helikon,* in case we have not guessed it yet, is the school — or one of the schools — presided over by Mohyla (a pun also on his name, Movilă, i.e., "mountain" in Moldavian).

The second part of the pamphlet, also written in verse, is called *Parnass* — again the home of the Muses and of Apollo — or the Second Garden of Knowledge. It, too, was erected by the school's pupils in honor of Mohyla. The second garden has ten offshoots of knowledge, that is, the nine Muses plus Apollo. The existence of two mountains calls for an explanation and the one that comes readily to mind is that they represent the efforts of the pupils of the Confraternity and the Caves Monastery schools, respectively.

The language of both poems is heavily Polonized Ukrainian. Their

[23] For the text of the *Eucharisterion,* cf. the facsimile in this issue, pp. 255–93; S. T. Golubev, "Priloženija k sočineniju: Istorija Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii, VIII," in *Universitetskie izvestija* of Kiev, 1886, no. 4, pt. 2, pp. 46–64; no. 5, pt. 2, pp. 65–69; Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 41, pp. 291–305; H. Rothe, *Die älteste ostslavische Kunstdichtung 1575–1647,* Zweiter Halbband (Giessen, 1977), pp. 293–315 (omitting the preface). Cf. also excerpts in O. I. Bilec'kyj, *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (do kincja XVIII st.),* 3rd ed. (Kiev, 1967), pp. 191–192, and Bilodid, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (as in fn. 8 above), p. 26. For a partial versified translation into modern Ukrainian, cf. *Apollonova ljutnja: Kyjivs'ki poety XVII–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 35–45 (where all poems are attributed to Stefan-Sofronij Počas'kyj). For secondary literature on the *Eucharisterion,* and a detailed discussion of its contents, cf. the article in this issue by N. Pylypiuk, pp. 45–70.

two concrete messages are the glorification of Christ, the Victor risen at Easter time, and the praise of Mohyla. Their two ideological messages seem to reflect the organizational compromise of 1631/32. They are, first, that Classics are good, but too classicizing an education is not a good thing; and, second, that the Uniates are certainly abominable.

The poems themselves say this in part: Grammar looks forward to the time when the Rus', the descendants of the famous Roxolanians (a Sarmatian tribe whose mention provided antique ancestry for the Ruthenians and erudite credentials for the poem's author), will equal the wise pagans in learning. Dialectic (likened, after a saying of "the Stagirite," to a sharp thorn) wishes that the thorn of wisdom would prick the sight of "the sad Uniate basilisks [who are] cruel asps." Thus Aristotle was put aside with King David, since the "basilisks" and the "asps" alluded to Psalm 90 (91):13. Music quotes the pagans Diogenes and Orpheus — along with the Byzantine John of Damascus. Geometry refers in the same breath to Xenophanes of Colophon and to Christ, "the highest Geometer," who rose from under the earth ("the earth" being *gē* or *gaia* in Greek; bear in mind that the various poems were both honoring Mohyla and celebrating Easter of 1632). Finally, in the poem on Theology, Mohyla is indirectly likened to Hercules. As the "assiduous Spaniard" had set up a marble pillar on the shores of the Western ocean to mark the outer limits of Hercules's labors, so the archimandrite erected a column on the banks of the Dnieper in the "Septentrional" zone (*pry berehax Dniprovyx pod sedmi triony*) to mark the beginning of the ocean of Theology. On that spot Mohyla will put an end to the Ruthenians' search and to their pilgrimages to faraway lands to study that science; may the good Lord grant that from now on they listen "to theologians of their own." The verses addressed to Apollo toward the end of the poem *Parnass* invite the pagan god to visit the Ruthenian lands (*krajev rossijs'kyx*), which are hungry for learning. However, toward the very end of *Parnass,* both Apollo and his sisters, the Muses, are chased away and the Virgin Mary is asked to take up her abode among the students of the college.

Two emblematic woodcuts adorn the tract.[24] One depicts Mohyla

[24] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 293–99; Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 50 and 84; Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in the preceding note), pp. 481 and 482 (= figs. 38 and 39). A search for parallels for these and similar woodcuts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emblem books might well repay the effort. Mohyla himself bought a Latin book of

himself standing on Helicon and holding the pastoral staff and the branch of wisdom; he is spurning the scepter and the crown, an allusion to his having given up his claim to the throne of Moldavia. The other woodcut represents Mucius Scaevola, the hero of a Latin legend set in the sixth century B.C., who is standing on Parnassus and putting his right hand into the fire. The scene is included because the Mohyla family claimed descent from this Roman hero, a speculation not unparalleled both in the history of humanism and of the Balkans.

This second woodcut sums up well the composite character of Mohyla's world. The hero of the woodcut is a Roman; he stands on a Greek mountain; with one exception, the explanatory legends are in Cyrillic script; but they contain Polonisms, such as the word *zvytjazcy* for "victor." The exception is something written in Greek letters on the left arm of Mucius Scaevola. The meaning of these letters seems to have escaped previous scholarship.[25] Yet they deserve a closer look, for they tell us about the degree of familiarity with the Greek in Mohyla's milieu. They read *skaia cheir* 'left hand', and thus offer an etymologically correct pun on the name of Scaevola, because *scaevus* and *skaios* mean the same thing, namely, "left(-handed)," in Latin and Greek. Scaevola, we remember, got the nickname "left-handed" after putting his right hand into the fire and thus permanently crippling it.

We can be virtually certain that the professor of rhetoric Sofronij Počas'kyj, author of the *Eucharisterion*'s preface and perhaps of all its poems as well, was the same person as Stefan Počas'kyj, the student of the Confraternity school who recited the very first poem of the *Virši,* a tract published in 1622 by Kasijan Sakovyč to commemorate the funeral of Hetman Sahajdačnyj.[26] Ten years later, Počas'kyj must have remembered his role in this literary enterprise. In short, there is *prima facie* presumption that the immediate model for the *Eucharisterion*'s plan and structure was offered by Sakovyč's *Virši.* (In the wider scheme of things, of course, models for the *Eucharisterion* are to be looked for in contemporary textbooks of

---

"Emblemata" in Warsaw in 1632, cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), p. 187.

[25] Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 305, merely remarked: "there is also an inscription on the left sleeve" of Mucius Scaevola. S. T. Golubev's description in *Universitetskie izvestija* of Kiev, 1886, no. 4, pt. 2, p. 59, lacks any reference to Scaevola's left arm.

[26] For the text, cf., e.g., Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 11, pp. 37–50; Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), pp. 219–246 (on p. 246 references to other reprints, usually excerpts).

poetics and in Polish Renaissance and Baroque poetry.) The choice of Easter for reciting the *Eucharisterion* may have been influenced by what the printers of the Lavra had done in 1630: their *Imnologia,* a collection of ten signed poems, was an Easter offering to Mohyla, in which each author blended the praise of Christ, the risen Victor, with that of the archimandrite.[27]

I know next to nothing of most of the youthful authors (or reciters) of *Eucharisterion*'s gratulatory poems. With two exceptions, such people as Theodor Suslo or Martyn Suryn are but colorful names to me. The exceptions are Vasylij Suščans'kyj-Proskura, who, as we have just learned, was a son or a relative of the addressee of one of Mohyla's prefaces; and Heorhij Nehrebeckij, probably a relative of Father Constantine Niehrębecki, *namiestnik* of St. Sophia of Kiev and one of the executors of Mohyla's will.[28]

On the other hand, we know a great deal about some other officers or alumni of the college who were active or graduated during Mohyla's lifetime, since they are among the important intellectuals of the century: Epifanij Slavynec'kyj, who was a Hellenist recruited to Moscow by Patriarch Nikon; Arsenij Satanovs'kyj, an assistant to Slavynec'kyj, who also went to Moscow; and men who wrote both in Ukrainian and Polish and were authors of sermons and writers of

[27] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 35, pp. 234–39. With one exception in the middle, those poems of the *Imnologia* that are written in Polonized Ukrainian regularly alternate with those in Slavonic. This arrangement may have been intentional. Two tracts published a year after the *Eucharisterion* are close to it in structure and in some motifs, and may have been influenced by it. They are (1) the Εὐφωνία *veselobrmjačaa Na Vysoceslávnyj Thrón Mitrópolii Kievskoj ščaslíve vstupújučemu . . . Kyr Petru Mohílě. . . . ot Tipohrafovъ v . . . Čudotvórnoj Lavrě Pečérskoj pracújučyxъ . . . dedikovánaja*; cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 42, pp. 306–309; Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), pp. 315–22 (on p. 322 references to other reprints and excerpts); and (2) *Mnemosyne sławy, prac, i trudow . . . Piotra Mohiły . . . ná pożądány onego wiazd do Kiowá; od Studentow Gymnasium w Bráctwie Kiowskim przezeń fundowánego Świátu podána . . .*; cf. Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), pp. 323–43 (valuable as apparently the only full reprint; a few misunderstandings of the text). For an excerpt (in original and translation) from the *Mnemosyne,* cf. also Martel, *La littérature polonaise* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 287 and fn. 1. *Mnemosyne* deserves further study. — An echo of the *Eucharisterion* (or of notions popular at the time of its composition) can be heard in this passage of Kossov's *Exegesis*: "their Benevolences, the Sirs citizens of Kiev and of other counties began to fill our *horrea Apollinea* with their children, like with little ants, and to call ⟨these *horrea*⟩ Helicon, Parnassus, and to glory in them." Cf. *Arxiv* (as in fn. 3 above), p. 423.

[28] Cf. *Pamjatniki . . .*, 2 (1846) (as in fn. 1 above), p. 177; *Pamjatniki izdannye . . .*, 2 (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), p. 435; Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 246–47. *Namiestnik* is Polish for *locumtenens*.

prominence in other fields as well: Joannikij Galjatovs'kyj, Lazar Baranovyč and Antonij Radyvylovs'kyj. Thus from its very beginnings, the college was both a producer of local intellectual leaders and a purveyor of talent abroad, above all to Moscow. It was to perform this double role for over a century.[29]

V

Mohyla was a loyal subject of the Polish Crown. He composed a liturgical poem in Church Slavonic to celebrate the enthronement of "our great tsar Władysław ⟨IV⟩." Whenever he spoke of "our fatherland" (*otčyzna naša*), he meant the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This should not astonish us: Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj himself used the term *ojczyzna* in the same sense as late as 1656, at least for the benefit of the Polish Crown hetmans and the Polish king.[30] In Mohyla's own mind, the legitimacy of his being seated on the Kiev metropolitan's throne rested on three fundations: the inspiration by the Holy Ghost who moved the heart of His Majesty King Władysław IV; the blessing of the holy apostolic capital of Constantinople; and the will of the whole of the Ruthenian nation (*narodu rossij-*

[29] The role of Mohyla's college and academy as exporters of talent and printing know-how abroad and as training ground for foreign students is a well-researched topic. K. V. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'*, vol. 1 (Kazan', 1914), still remains a classic for Muscovy and Russia. For the most recent general survey, cf. "Kul'turni zvjazky Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademii," in Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 162–216 (discusses Muscovy and Russia, Belorussia, Moldavia and Wallachia, Serbia, and Greece). For Muscovy and Russia alone (and in a later period), cf. F. B. Korčmaryk, *Duxovi vplyvy Kyjeva na Moskovščynu v dobu Het'mans'koji Ukrajiny* [= Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies, 14] (New York, 1964). For Moldavia and Wallachia, cf. P. P. Panaitescu, "L'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev dans les Principautés roumaines," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France 1926*, pt. 1 (Paris, 1926), pp. 3–95 (excellent); Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 113–15; and the bibliographical article by Dr. Cazacu, pp. 184–222 below. I shall adduce but two telling examples for Moldavian contacts: In 1640, Sofronij Počas'kyj, the moving spirit of the *Eucharisterion*, led some alumni and teachers of the college to Jassy, where they founded a school which continued for a few years. A year later, a printing press manned by Kievan printers was established there.

[30] "Great tsar Władysław": *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), p. 169 (caution: in the manuscript, the text of the poem is not in Mohyla's hand). "Fatherland": for the usage of Mohyla, cf., e.g., Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 333; for that of Xmel'nyc'kyj, cf. his letters addressed to the Crown hetmans and to King Jan Kazimierz, respectively, in A. B. Pernal, "Six Unpublished Letters of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (1656–1657)," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 223 and 225; for Markian Balaban laying down his life for "his beloved *otčyzna*, the Polish Crown," cf. Titov, *Materijaly*, p. 186 (the text dates from 1627).

s'koho).[31] What he and his successor on the Kiev throne, Syl'vester Kossov, aspired to, but did not obtain, was equality for this Ruthenian nation within the framework of the Commonwealth. For all his Orthodoxy and in spite of the fact that in 1640 he lavished fulsome praise on Tsar Mixail Fedorovič (to whom he applied for material assistance for Kiev's shrines and for permission — never granted — to found a special monastery in Moscow where Kievan monks could teach Greek and Slavonic to sons of boyars and to simple folk),[32] Mohyla remained politically anti-Muscovite. He praised his noble Ruthenian addressees or their ancestors for taking part in campaigns against Moscow in the service of the Polish king; the family of one of them he extolled for having waged war on Moscow under King Stefan Batory (Báthory); another addressee he commended for participating in the expedition to Moscow under the leadership of the young Władysław IV.[33] When the brother of Metropolitan Iov Borec'kyj, Andrew, presumably alluded in conversation with Mohyla to the possibility of a union between Muscovy and Rus', Mohyla is said to have replied that this alone was enough to have Andrew Borec'kyj impaled.[34] This loyalist attitude is a far cry from that displayed by the Borec'kyj brothers, by a man lower down on the social scale, the Belorussian Afanasij Filippovič, who traveled to Moscow and embarrassed Mohyla by his Orthodox intran-

[31] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), no. 49, p. 359: *ja tedy v toj Rossijs'koj zemli z nadxnenja D(u)xa s(vja)t(o)ho do s(e)rdca Korolja jeho M(y)l(o)s(ty) Vladyslava Četvertoho, nam ščaslyve Panujučoho i vseho Narodu Rossijs'koho voleju, vzjavšy urjad Rossijs'kyj Arxierejs'kyj za bl(aho)s(lo)veniem s(vja)tijšeji stolyci Ap(o)s(to)l's'koji Konstantynopol's'koji. . . .*

[32] Cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye . . .* , 2 (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), pp. 423–27; *Akty otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii . . .* , vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1861), nos. 18 and 33, pp. 27–29 and 39. Both documents are preserved only in contemporary Russian translation *s beloruskogo pisma*. Both were "read before the tsar." In 1640, Mohyla's *locumtenens,* Ihnatij, gave a detailed report in Moscow's *Posol'skij prikaz* on military and political events in the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland (he also repeated some gossip about relations between the Polish king and the Turkish sultan and about actions planned by the Habsburg emperor against the Swedes). He did not pass on any treasonous information, however. Cf. *Akty otnosjaščiesja . . .* , no. 22, pp. 32–34. On Mohyla's relations with Moscow, cf., e.g., V. Èjngorn, "O snošeniax malorossijskogo duxovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanie Alekseja Mixajloviča," *Čtenija v Imp. Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete* 165 (1893, bk. 2): 24–32.

[33] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 332 and 339.

[34] This story is reported by Pantelejmon Kuliš, "Otpadenie Malorossii ot Pol'ši (1340–1654), tom pervyj," *Čtenija v Imp. Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete* 145 (1888, bk. 2, pt. 3): 179. Kuliš gives no precise reference; he only points to the *Glavnyj arxiv inostrannyx del* as the source of his information.

sigence, or, finally, by those Orthodox whom Kasijan Sakovyč accused of betraying the Polish Crown's secrets to Moscow before 1646.[35] Mohyla's points of reference were Kiev, Warsaw, Jassy, and Constantinople, but hardly Moscow. To blame him for this, to impute that it was not so, or to call his religious policy a "Latin pseudo-morphosis of Orthodoxy," is to disregard our evidence, to imply that the yardstick for measuring what is Orthodox is kept in Russia, and to indulge in anachronisms.[36] When it comes to Mohyla's theology, it is advisable to

[35] On Iov Borec'kyj's relations with Moscow and the Crown and on his tergiversations, cf., e.g., Èjngorn, "O snošenijax" (as in fn. 32 above), pp. 20–21; and K. Chodynicki's entry "Borecki, Jan" in *Polski słownik biograficzny* 2 (1936): 315–317. For Borec'kyj's brothers, cf., e.g., the supplication addressed in 1640 to Tsar Mixail Fedorovič by Iov and Andreas's sister in *Akty otnosjaščiesja* . . . (as in fn. 32 above), no. 32, pp. 38–39. On Filippovič, cf. A. F. Koršunov, *Afanasij Filippovič: Žizn' i tvorčestvo* (Minsk, 1965) and the review of this book by F. Sysyn in *Kritika* 8, no. 3 (Spring 1972): 118–29. For Sakovyč's charges, and Mohyla's refutation, cf. *Lithos* . . . , in *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 9 (Kiev, 1893), p. 4 and fn. On the date of Sakovyč's charges, cf., ibid., S. Golubev's introduction, p. 134 and fn. 1.

[36] I have in mind, *inter alia,* the grave indictment of Mohyla by the late Father G. Florovsky, for whom the "crypto-Romanism" and the "pseudo-morphosis of Orthodoxy" propagated by our metropolitan were "probably more dangerous than the Union itself." Cf. Father Florovsky's celebrated *Puti russkogo bogoslovija,* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1981), pp. 44–56, esp. p. 49, and *Ways of Russian Theology,* vol. 1 (Belmont, Mass., 1979) (a somewhat revamped and enlarged English version of *Puti*), pp. 64–85. The very brilliance of Father Florovsky's portrayal of Mohyla should not blind us to the fact that the author wrote not as an "unbiased" historian (for he did not believe that such a person could exist), but as a Russian theologian. Keeping this in mind, we may sympathize with Father Florovsky's disapproval of Mohyla. His casting doubt on Mohyla's Orthodoxy is another matter. Beginning with the seventeenth century, all Orthodox ecclesiastics who were not bound by Russian standards of confessional purity (and some who were) found few or no objections to Mohyla's *Confession* or to the Latin ingredients in it (assuming that they were aware of these ingredients); and they never impugned his Orthodoxy. Father Florovsky may have been right in viewing Mohyla's thought and reforms as alien to Russian theology, but was less justified in blaming their author for it. On my reading of the evidence, Mohyla (and the vast majority of upper-class educated Orthodox living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the first half of the seventeenth century) gave relatively little thought to Muscovy; they lived in a different world. Moscow was absent from the modern place-names adduced among various illustrative examples in Smotryc'kyj's Slavonic grammar of 1619; his list was limited to Kiev, Cracow, L'viv, and Wilno (Vilnius). It would follow that in terms of mere history, Mohyla belongs in Father Florovsky's book only tangentially — for instance, as a parallel to Patriarch Nikon and as a man who helped create the preconditions for the later invasion of Muscovy and Russia by Ukrainian and Belorussian clerical erudites and theologians. Cf. also Professor Sysyn's review article in this issue, pp. 155–187. [Father Florovsky's strictures against Mohyla and his school have their antecedents in ninteenth-century Russian historiography. To my knowledge, the only nineteenth-century Ukrainian historian unfriendly to Mohyla was Taras Ševčenko's younger contemporary, Pantelejmon Kuliš.]

keep the verdict of Mohyla's Orthodox contemporaries in mind. In 1642/43, Greek Orthodox patriarchs and hierarchs found his Orthodoxy in order: they scrutinized his *Orthodox Confession of Faith* and ended up by approving it. In this approved form, the document was highly valued and accepted as the official profession of faith by all the leaders of Orthodox churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Adrian, the last patriarch of Moscow before Peter I's reforms, and Arsenij, enemy of Peter's reforms and metropolitan of Rostov in the 1750s, who considered Mohyla's catechism "more essential for the priest than philosophy."

What Mohyla's attitude toward Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj would have been we cannot say, since his death on 1 January 1647, new style, came more than a year before Xmel'nyc'kyj's uprising, dubbed "civil war" in contemporary Polish sources. To form an educated guess on Mohyla's putative attitude, it will be helpful to remember that in a hagiographical piece dating from after 1629, he had a local saint frustrate the Zaporozhian Cossacks' plan to plunder the Moldavian city of Suceava; and that two of his first cousins were wives of Stanisław Rewera Potocki, the Polish palatine of Braclav and Cracow, and a third was married to the fiercely anti-Cossack Prince Jeremiah Vyšnevec'kyj.

At first, the uprising itself did not badly disrupt the teaching at the college — some of its important alumni graduated from it around 1649 or 1650 and serious war damage to its buildings occurred only in the fifties — nor did it stem the wave of Latin and Polish influence.[37] The will of the whole Ruthenian nation, to use Mohyla's own words — or at least of its Ukrainian branch — was favorable to the college. In 1651 and 1656 Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj endowed the monastery of the Kiev confraternity and "the schools attached to it" with the expropri-

[37] Two examples: In *Rosa inter spinas,* a textbook of poetics dating from 1686 (the year of the official incorporation of Kiev into the Tsardom of Muscovy), students were given Polish examples culled from the cycle of poems by Samuel Twardowski; the cycle, written in 1634, was entitled "The Felicitous Expedition Against Moscow by the Most Serene Władysław IV." On *Rosa,* cf. Łużny, *Pisarze* (as in fn. 6 above), esp. pp. 37–38. As late as the 1690s, textbooks on rhetoric recorded Latin and Polish eulogies or funerary orations in honor of Xmel'nyc'kyj, cf. V. Peretc in *Čtenija v istoričeskom obščestve Nestora Letopisca* 14 (1890): 11–20. — The Latin legacy of Mohyla's college was so strong that some courses were taught in that language in the Russian Empire's ecclesiastical academies and seminaries as late as the 1840s. Cf. Golubev, "Kievo-mogiljanskaja kollegija . . ." (as in fn. 8 above), p. 544.

ated landed possessions of the Dominican fathers in and near Kiev,[38] those of the Jesuits and those of the Catholic bishop and chapter of Kiev; thus the college profited in the redistribution of the spoils. The Treaty of Bila Cerkva of 1651 expressly mentions the rights of the Kiev college. However, the chief — and highly valuable — assistance the Cossack uprising and its aftermath of 1654 gave the Mohyla college was indirect. It consisted in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Ukraine: they were never to return to Kiev. In this way, serious competition to the college was eliminated, a competition which might have been a threat to it if the Jesuits were to stay. The potentially most advantageous decision connected with the Cossacks came to the college not through Xmel'nyc'kyj, but through Hetman Vyhovs'kyj and the Treaty of Hadjač of 1658. This treaty raised the college to the rank of academy and endowed it with the same prerogatives and liberties as "the Academy of the University of Cracow." It even provided that a second academy be erected in the Ukraine. Although this provision of the Hadjač treaty remained as unenforced as the others, it did give the teachers at the college a new impetus in their attempts to enhance their school's status. In 1670, Hetman Peter Dorošenko instructed his envoys to the negotiations with the Polish side in Ostroh to press for the establishment of an academy in the Ukraine. But it was the Russian Peter I who finally satisfied the Kievan teachers' wishes (1694 and 1701).

VI

For all its undeniable achievements, Mohyla's college did not produce original thought. This was not only because original thought is rare in human affairs, but also because the college's goal was fully to absorb existing, in this particular case, Western, cultural standards. Those who are catching up with established value systems strive for parity, not for originality. Involved contemporaries do not feel this to be a

[38] Dominicans: cf. I. Kryp"jakevyč and I. Butyč, *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho* (Kiev, 1961), no. 131, pp. 209–210 (on p. 210, references to earlier editions). In 1659, the Kiev *polkovnyk* V. Dvorec'kyj issued a detailed confirmation of Xmel'nyc'kyj's *universal* of 1651, cf. *Pamjatniki* . . . , 2 (1846) (as in fn. 1 above), no. XIX, pp. 213–22, and *Pamjatniki izdannye* . . . , 2 (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), no. XXIV, pp. 449–51. Jesuits: Kryp"jakevyč-Butyč, *Dokumenty* (as in this fn., above), no. 349, pp. 467–68 (on p. 468, references to earlier editions). In 1659, Tsar Aleksej Mixailovič confirmed Xmel'nyc'kyj's *universal* of 1656, cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye* . . . , 2 (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), no. XXV, pp. 451–53.

drawback; those few who do, gamble on original contributions coming after parity is achieved.

To be sure, a short-cut to original contributions does exist. It runs through changing the rules of the game: forgetting all about catching up and striking out on one's own instead (or in the wake of others who already have left the catching-up problems behind). In the history of learning and education, the challenge issued by the fledgling Collège de France to the Sorbonne a century before Mohyla is the case in point. Such short-cuts are taken only rarely in the course of civilization, however, and it would be unfair to Mohyla and to his successors to demand from them an act that was beyond their reach. The original contribution we might expect from Mohyla's college and academy is of a different kind. What went on there did affect the growth of a peculiarly Ukrainian consciousness. In that respect, however, the early college was the successful continuator of incipient trends rather than an initiator of new ones; and in later years its impact on national consciousness was not explicitly intended.

One contribution was made in the early period: intellectuals in the milieu of Mohyla (as well as in that of his immediate predecessors) rediscovered Kiev's early past. The roots of the Kievan present were traced back to that past, and historical continuity was established between the earliest Rus' and Kiev on the one hand and the Ukraine of the early seventeenth century on the other. Following in the tracks of Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj and of the *Virši* on Sahajdačnyj's funeral in 1622, Mohyla adopted the conception of the Kievan Primary Chronicle and traced the Rus' nation back to Japhet. That nation was called "the nation of Vladimir" by one student of his school.[39] Inscriptions in the Church of the Savior in Berestovo, restored by Mohyla in 1643/44, connect his name, the name of the metropolitan of all Rus' (*v'seę Rossii*), with that of the "autocrat" ruler of all Rus' (*vseę Rossii*) Vladimir the Great (who was thereby promoted to imperial rank) (figs. 3–4, pp. 43–44);[40] and we already know that in his genealogi-

[39] For descent from "the noble" Japhet (and not from the "ignoble" Cham, as insinuated by the Polish critics), cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 268; for the "nation of Vladimir (*narodu Włodzimierza*)" who built 300 churches in Kiev "according to Stryjkowski," see Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), p. 328, lines 21–22.

[40] The Berestovo inscription of 1643 runs as follows: *Síju c(e)rkov'|Sozdà velíkij|| i vseę Rossii knjaz| I samoderžec, S(vja)tyj||Vladímir: Vo s(vja)tom| Kr(e)ščé(n)ii Vasíli(j). Po lě||těx že Mnóhix, I po ra||zorénii ot bezbožnyx Tatar || Proizvoléiniem [sic] B(o)žiim|obnovísę Smirénnymъ||Petrom Mohíloju arxiep(i)s(ko)pom Mitropolitom Kievski(m) Halickim I vseę Rossii.*

cal flatteries Mohyla traced the ancestry of his addressees back to the times of Vladimir the Great and invoked Rus' chroniclers in support of his statements. Finally, in the laudatory poems that the students of Mohyla's school and the printers of Kiev composed on the occasion of his enthronement in 1633, the Cathedral of Saint Sophia (later restored by him) commended (*polecaju*) to the newly installed metropolitan the walls that it had received from Jaroslav the Wise.[41]

Eksarxoju s(vja)taho‖Ko(n)stantínopolskoho ap(o)s(to)lskaho pr(ě)s(to)la arximandrítom Pečerskim. Vo slávu Na Thavórě Preobrazšahos(ę) X(rist)a B(o)ha ‖ slóva 1643. hodà.| ot Sotvorenię že miru, 7151: [There follow some letters, probably *P, O, M, K, T, Ot, H*; are they the painter's signature?]. To my knowledge, this inscription is unpublished.

[41] For tracing the ancestry of a Ruthenian aristocrat back to Kievan princes Svjatoslav, "Wlodzimirz, Boriss" and "Hlib," cf. Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj's preface addressed to Prince Stefan Svjatopolk Četvertens'kyj in 1623, Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 69, and Kal'nofojs'kyj's verses on the Četvertens'kyjs in *Teratourgēma* of 1638, Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), p. 420. For comparing Prince Constantine Ostrožs'kyj to Vladimir and Jaroslav, cf. the poem in the Ostroh Bible (1581), reprinted in Rothe, ibid., pp. 5–6. For passages on St. Sophia's walls, cf. *Mnemosyne* in Rothe, ibid., poem 9, 13–20, pp. 334–335; poem 11, 3–6, p. 337; and Εὐφωνία *veselobrmjačaa* (as in fn. 27 above), p. 310 (Titov) and 319 (Rothe). The relevant passage of the Εὐφωνία is also reproduced in Bilec'kyj, *Xrestomatija* (as in fn. 19 above), p. 194. — For recent Soviet views on the rediscovery of Kiev's past in the Mohyla circle, cf. the two chapters by L. I. Sazonova, "Ukrainskie staropečatnye predislovija (bor'ba za nacional'noe edinstvo)" and "Ukrainskie staropečatnye predislovija (osobennosti literaturnoj formy)," in A. N. Robinson et al., eds., *Russkaja staropečatnaja literatura (XVI–pervaja četvert' XVIII v.)* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 129–52, 153–87 (several interesting observations on levels of language in the prefaces, on L'viv and Kiev prints as models used by Patriarch Nikon, on Suščans'kyj-Proskura, on invoking princely ancestry for the Ostrožs'kyjs and the Četvertens'kyjs and on the change in the character of the prefaces brought by the year 1654; p. 168, confusion on the meaning of *rossijs'komu rodu* or *naroda rossijs'koho* — these terms are taken to refer to "Russians in general"; p. 137, a charming slip going back to pre-1914: *južnorusskom krae* used with reference to places like L'viv, Vilnius and Kiev); and I. S. Zaxara, "Istorija Kyjivs'koji Rusi v ocinci dijačiv Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji," in Ja. D. Isajevyč et al., eds., *Kyjivs'ka Rus': Kul'tura, tradyciji* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 89–92 (according to the author, professors of the academy invoked old Kievan traditions to promote the idea of unification with brotherly Russia — the new "reunited" state had to be as strong as Kievan Rus' had been in her day). Much better are the few sober pages by Ja. D. Isajevyč, "Rol' kul'turnoji spadščyny Kyjivs'koji Rusi v rozvytku mižslov"jans'kyx zv"jazkiv doby feodalizmu," in Ja. D. Isajevyč et al., eds., *Z istoriji mižslov'-jans'kyx zv"jazkiv* (Kiev, 1983), esp. pp. 7, 10–14. — Two motifs of ideal genealogy used in the circle of Mohyla or in his college (as well as in other places) to enhance the image of Rus' and of Kiev have been left out of consideration here. In my view, they belong, originally at least, in a different context, that of establishing the legitimacy and antiquity of the Orthodox faith, and even its superiority over the

This contribution, much as establishing historical continuities may appeal to us, was of limited importance. To realize this, we have only to recall that when financial need arose, Mohyla pointed out to the autocrat Muscovite tsar that both "autocrat" rulers, Vladimir and Jaroslav the Wise, were the tsar's forebears;[42] or to juxtapose the Kiev intellectuals' search for roots of their Rus' with the impressive claims to antiquity and suzerainty that the less sophisticated compilers of the *Stepennaja kniga* had elaborated in Moscow three quarters of a century earlier. To be sure, there are similarities in both searches for roots. When Mohyla spoke of "seventeen generations" that had elapsed "since their graces, the Stetkevičs, were born to senatorial dignity,"[43] his device paralleled the conception of the *Stepennaja kniga*. However, Kievan intellectuals did little with the resources close to home, compared to what Muscovite bookmen had done with the faraway Kievan tradition. Before we find these intellectuals sadly wanting, we should consider the differences in the respective historical settings of Kiev and Moscow: the genealogies produced by the Kievan intellectuals addressed the mere remnants of the Ruthenian upper class, while those produced by the bookmen of Moscow supported the claims of a powerful and vigorous dynasty. This dynasty obtained final suzerainty over the city of Kiev in 1686, but its garrisons were present there as early as 1654. From the 1670s Kiev professors, such as Innokentij Gizel', entered the ranks of the dynasty's ideologists; and the practice of establishing *direct* links between the Kiev of Vladimir and that of the college had soon to be abandoned. From then on, the whole panoply of speculations about Kiev's glorious past began to be used for the benefit of Kiev's new rulers and the term *rossijskij* began to acquire the meaning of "Russian." As late as July of 1705, Prokopovyč called Hetman Mazepa "a great successor" and a mirror image of Vladimir;

Roman one. These are (1) the motif of "Roxolanian Sion," i.e., the Orthodox Church of Rus' with Kiev in her center as spiritual daughter of Jerusalem (a motif occurring before Mohyla's time, but used in his milieu or by his successor in the 1630s and 1650s); and (2) the motif of Kiev as the Second Jerusalem (a motif which is later and less frequently attested, but better known to modern scholars on account of R. Stupperich's article of 1935, for which cf. fn. 44 below). This latter motif, an outgrowth of the first, was used for the benefit of two tsars: in 1654 by the spokesman of Hetman Ivan Zolotarenko near Smolensk (cf. *Akty otnosjaščiesja* . . . [as in fn. 32 above], vol. 14 [1889], no. 7, col. 176) and in 1705 [?] and 1706 by Prokopovyč in Kiev.

[42] Cf. *Pamjatniki izdannye* . . . , 2 (1897) (as in fn. 4 above), pp. 425–426; *Akty otnosjaščiesja* . . . (as in fn. 32 above) no. 18, esp. pp. 28–29.

[43] Cf. Titov, *Materijaly* (as in fn. 2 above), p. 338.

but on July 5 of 1706, during Peter I's visit to Kiev, the same Prokopovyč delivered a welcoming sermon in which he saw to it that both the hills of that Second Jerusalem and the Church of St. Sophia would sing the glories of the tsar *vseja Rossii,* the descendant and successor not only of Vladimir, but also of Jaroslav, Svjatoslav, Vsevolod and Svjatopolk, and the true embodiment of their virtues.[44] To judge by Gizel' and Prokopovyč alone, in the mature period of Mohyla's school its leading professors used history to promote the notion of All-Russian oneness as much as their predecessors used it to foster local patriotism.

The main, and the most lasting, contribution the college made to a specifically Ukrainian consciousness was an indirect one, and it began in Mohyla's lifetime. It consisted in the general raising of the level of Kiev's intellectual life, in imbuing Ruthenian youth with Western cultural notions, and thus in providing the elite with cultural self-confidence with respect to the Poles. These Western notions may appear to us, modern readers of the *Eucharisterion,* not to be of the highest order. A revolutionary change must have occurred from the local point of view, however, when a Ruthenian student spoke of Mt. Helicon rather than Mt. Thabor and listened to Horace rather than to the *Oktoix.* By combining its Western tinge and Latino-Polish message with Orthodoxy, Mohyla's college performed a double task: it provided an alternative to the outright Polonization of the Ukrainian elite, and it delayed its Russification after 1686. It thus helped strengthen, or at least preserve, that elite's feelings of "otherness" from both the Poles and the Muscovites (and subsequently Russians), and created the basis for the later affirmative feelings of Ukrainian identity.[45]

[44] For Prokopovyč's flattery of Mazepa (*seho* [Vladimir's] *izobraženye pryjmy ot nas, jako toho ž velykyj naslidnyk . . . Zry sebe samaho v Vladymeri, zry v pozori sam, aky v zercali . . .*), see the Prologue to *Vladimerъ,* I. P. Eremin, ed., *Feofan Prokopovyč, Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1961), p. 152. The sermon of 5 July 1706, entitled "Slovo privětstvitel'noe na prišestvie vъ Kievъ Ego Carskago Presvětlago Veličestva . . . ," is in *Feofana Prokopoviča . . . Slova i rěči poučitel'nyja, poxval'nyja i pozdravitel'nyja . . . ,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1760), cf. esp. pp. 2–5, 10–11. Its text is discussed in R. Stupperich, "Kiev—das zweite Jerusalem. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ukrainisch-russischen Nationelbewusstseins," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 12, no. 3/4 (1935): 332–55, cf. esp. pp. 333–36; and in Jury Serech (G. Y. Shevelov), "On Teofan Prokopovič as Writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), esp. pp. 216–21. Professor Shevelov stresses the sermon's religious, rather than political, aspects.

[45] I discover with interest that Jabłonowski, *Akademia* (as in fn. 8 above), p. 248, made a similar assessment over eighty years ago.

Today, Mohyla and his college continue to serve as points of reference for scholars, both in Europe and in America, who trace the growth of civilization and of national traditions among Eastern Slavs in early modern times; thus when a student of the college wrote in 1633

Gdyż Europá, Azja i kraj Ameryká,
Z Płomienistą Lybią Mohiłow wykrzyka,[46]

his Baroque hyperbole had the makings of a true prophecy.

Harvard University

Addendum to footnote 22: We can still read entries that Mohyla made or dictated in two books he owned. The first of them stands on fol. 3ᵛ of the *Monacensis Slavicus* 1, a precious Gospel manuscript of Stephen the Great, dating from 1493. It is in a vernacular which can be considered Ukrainian and runs as follows (I do not expand the contractions; supralinear letters are put in parentheses):

Róku bo(ž) naro(ž)nia a x l z [= 1637]: *Mča deka(b) kā: | Ja Pétrъ Mohyla arxyep(s)pъ Mytropoly(t) Kievskij |Halyckij i vsea Rossíy arxyma(n)dry(t) s̄. lavry Ve(ly)kia| Pečersia [sic] Kievskia. Kupyle(m) sie stoe Eu(h)lie; Y(?)na| dalemъ věčno y neporušno v xra(m) Preč(s)toy B(d)cy Mo|nastyra Pečer(s)koho, h(d)e tělo moe polo(ž)no bude(t)*

The script of the note is so professional, and so different from that of the following entry, that it is difficult to assert that the note in question is an autograph. It must, however, reflect Mohyla's own words.

The second entry is on fol. 3ʳ of a Greek Leiturgiarion written by a nun Melania in L'viv in 1620. It is in Ruthenian, is surely an autograph, and runs as follows:

Petrъ Mohyla A(r)xiep(s)pъ Mytropoly(t) Kievskiy rukoju vl(as)noju

Cf. P. P. Panaitescu, "Un autograf al lui Petru Movilă pe un tetraevanghel al lui Ştefan cel Mare," *Revista istorică Română* 9 (1939): 82–87 (facsimile on p. 84) and V. Brătulescu, *Miniaturi şi manuscrise din Museul de Artă Religioasă* (Bucharest, 1939), pp. 37–43 (facsimile on pl. IX).

[46] *Mnemosyne,* in Rothe, *Die älteste . . . Kunstdichtung* (as in fn. 23 above), poem 13, lines 29–30, p. 340: "While Europe, Asia, and the country of America together with the flamboyant Libya [i.e., Africa] proclaim ⟨the glory of⟩ the Mohylas, . . ."

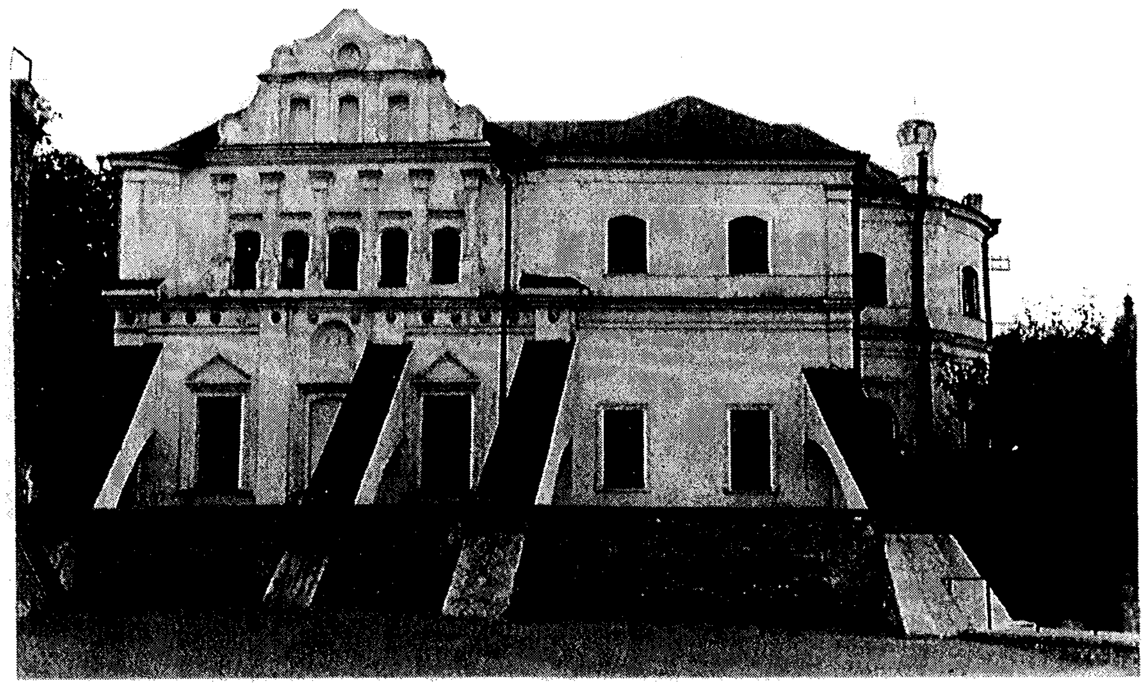


Fig. 1. The Lavra Printing Press, Southern View. Building Stages: 1701–1862; restored in 1954. (Photo Ševčenko 1970)

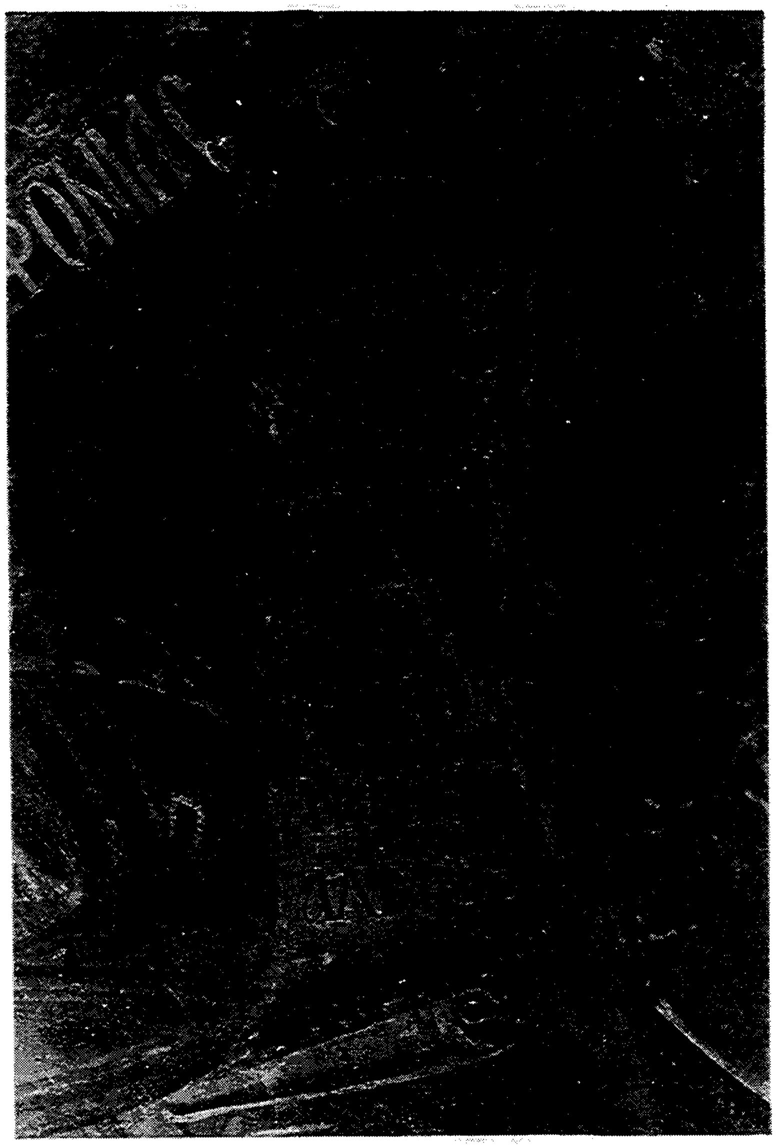
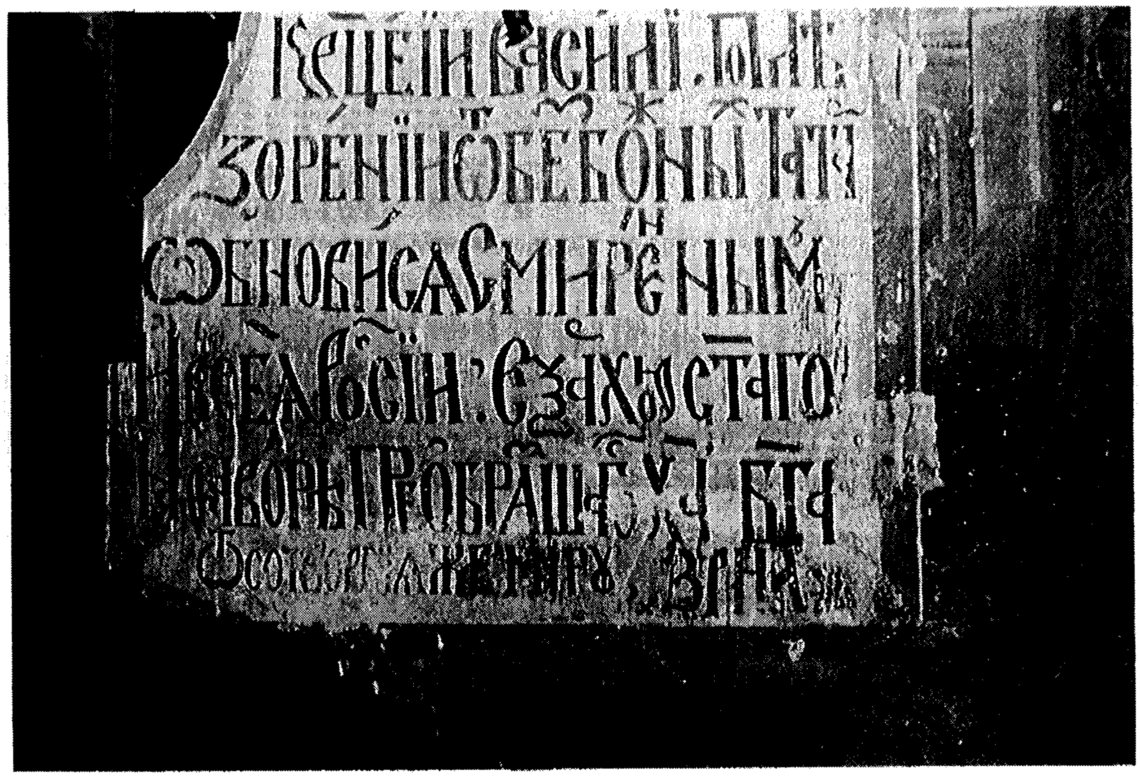


Fig. 2. Church of the Savior at Berestovo. Scroll held by the Prophet Zephaniah. 1643/44. (Photo Ševčenko 1970)



Fig. 3. Church of the Savior at Berestovo. Inscription Recording Restoration by Mohyla in 1643. Detail. (Photo Ševčenko 1970)

Fig. 4. Church of the Savior at Berestovo. Inscription Recording Restoration by Mohyla in 1643. Detail. (Photo Ševčenko 1970)



*Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdjačnost'.** The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School: Its Content and Historical Context

NATALIA PYLYPIUK

> Those persons who think that Panegyrics are nothing but flattery appear not to know with what design this kind of writing was invented by men of great sagacity, whose object it was, that by having the image of virtue put before them, bad princes might be made better, the good encouraged, the ignorant instructed, the mistaken set right, the wavering quickened, and even the abandoned brought to some sense of shame.
>
> Erasmus, "Epistle 177," *The Epistles of Erasmus,* trans. Francis Morgan Nichols, vol. 1 (New York, 1962), p. 366.

On Easter Sunday, 1 April 1632, twenty-three students in the rhetoric class of the newly established *gymnasium* at the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev gathered to honor the then archimandrite Peter Mohyla as the founder and generous patron of schools. Their thanksgiving was expressed through the recitation of an elaborate set of poems dealing, for the most part, with the seven liberal arts, theology, and the arts represented by the allegorical figures of the Muses and Apollo. The texts of these poems were preserved for posterity in a pamphlet with the bilingual title *Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdjačnost'* (Eucharisterion.

* I am grateful to Dr. Paulina Lewin and Professor Ihor Ševčenko, who carefully read the first draft of this article and offered generous assistance and invaluable comments. I would also like to thank Dr. Bohdan Strumins'kyj for clarifying some aspects of the *Eucharisterion*'s text.

Or, Gratitude), which was published for the occasion by the Caves Monastery.[1] Whatever the nature of the Easter program, the event was no doubt both formal and well attended. Recitation of the poems was preceded by solemn introductory remarks by the students' professor, the monk Sofronij Počas'kyj;[2] they were included in the pamphlet as a preface.

Scholars have known about the *Eucharisterion* since at least 1847, when the historian M. Maksymovyč discussed it at a seminar of the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities.[3] It was republished in 1924 and again recently, in a slightly truncated form (i.e., without Počas'kyj's introduction).[4] Historians and literary scholars who studied the *Eucharisterion* usually sought information about the

[1] The pamphlet bears the date 29 March 1632. The text used here is in Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI–XVIIIvv.*, in *Ukrajins'ka akademija nauk: Zbirnyk Istoryčno-fililohičnoho viddilu,* no. 17 (Kiev, 1924), pp. 291–305. Very Reverend Andrew Teterenko (St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg) provided the date of Easter in 1632.

[2] It is commonly accepted that Počas'kyj's secular name was Stefan, and that as a pupil of the school run by the Kiev Brotherhood of the Epiphany, he participated in the recitation of Kasijan Sakovyč's funeral verses honoring Hetman Petro Sahajdačnyj (1622). See Titov, *Materijaly,* p. 305. According to S. Golubev (*Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki,* vol. 1 [Kiev, 1883], p. 425), Počas'kyj was one of the men Peter Mohyla sent to study in the West. A. Sydorenko indicates that Počas'kyj was rector of the Kiev Mohyla school in 1638–1640 and later founder of the Jassy Orthodox College: see his *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1977), p. 38.

[3] M. Maksymovyč's report appeared under the title "O Lavrskoj Mogilinskoj škole" in *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istoriji i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete,* 1847, bk. 6, pp. 77–80. He briefly summarized the pamphlet's contents and demonstrated that the monastery's school had already been functioning in April 1632.

[4] Excerpts of the *Eucharisterion* in P. P. Pekarskij's Russian translation appeared in the second part of his "Predstaviteli kievskoi učenosti v polovine XVII-go stoletija" in *Otečestvennye zapiski,* vol. 141 (1862), pp. 198–201. Maksymovyč again summarized the *Eucharisterion* very briefly in "O pervyx vremenax Kievskogo Bogojavlenskogo bratstva," in *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii,* no. 9 (Kiev, 1869), pp. 383–84. In his work on Peter Mohyla, S. Golubev (*Kievskij mitropolit,* 1: 449–52) paraphrased S. Počas'kyj's dedication and gave a general description of the pamphlet's contents. Golubev did not accord much historical value to the *Eucharisterion* because it did not provide specific information about the curriculum of the monastery's *gymnasium.* He also criticized its poems, which he considered to be the substance of the panegyric, for their subjugation of content to form (pry čem soderžanie vsegda prinosilos' v žertvu formě). The entire *Eucharisterion,* with the exception of the first engraving (that is, Mohyla's coat of arms) appeared in a 1924 collection of prologues to publications of the Caves monastery (see Titov, *Materijaly*). The most recent republication of the *Eucharisterion*'s poems, but without Počas'kyj's dedication, appeared in Hans Rothe, *Die älteste ostslawische Kunstdichtung, 1571–1647,* vol. 2 (Giessen, 1977), pp. 293–315. See also pp. 255–93 of this volume.

Caves Monastery school and its curriculum. Discussion of the work's formal features has been limited: isolated parts have been analyzed, but the work as a whole has not.[5] The few scholars who did consider the *Eucharisterion* to be an organic work regarded it as a bipartite text, consisting of a panegyric in verse and a dedication in prose.[6] To this day the work has not been the subject of close analysis.

The *Eucharisterion,* like all classical, Renaissance, and post-Renaissance panegyrics, is a complex work that mixes history and politics with rhetorical tradition. Fact frequently gives way to the requirements of propaganda; reality and the ideal interlace. It would be dangerous, therefore, to confuse the contents of the panegyric with actual history. But it would also be unwise to view the *Eucharisterion* as a document that has no relationship to history, and to condemn it for what inevitably strikes the modern ear, unaccustomed to public poetry, as verbal excess.

In approaching this work we should bear in mind that the *Eucharisterion* was written by or under the guidance of a man (Počas'kyj) who belonged to Mohyla's circle and who was probably assigned the task of propagating the circle's ideas and aspirations. It was composed for an audience that readily comprehended the panegyric's allusions and intentions. When viewed in this perspective the *Eucharisterion* serves not only as an interesting case study of the panegyric, but also provides insight into the celebration that took place at the Caves Monastery three hundred and fifty years ago.

[5] Commentaries by historians of literature have been minimal. M. Voznjak, in his *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 2 (Lviv, 1921), p. 102, mentions the *Eucharisterion* very briefly. D. Čyževs'kyj, in his *Ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj barok,* vol. 3 (Prague, 1945), p. 111, discusses only the poem "Stemma jasnevelmožnyx" Mohylov"," without mentioning where it appeared. Čyževs'kyj saw it as an unusual heraldic *virša* because it treats only two elements in the coat of arms. Čyževs'kyj called (pp. 131–132) the *Eucharisterion* a "collection" of "erudite poetry" (*zbirka včenoji poeziji*) written in praise of the liberal arts and the Muses, and quoted two excerpts to illustrate the numerous classical references present in the text. In his *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1956), p. 265, Čyževs'kyj makes passing mention of the *Eucharisterion*'s secular verse.

[6] The most recent discussion of the *Eucharisterion* is found in V. P. Kolosova's contribution "Viršova literatura" to *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury u vos'my tomax,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1967), pp. 321–23. She concurs with S. Golubev that the poems of the *Eucharisterion* are the panegyric proper. Although she pays no attention to Počas'kyj's dedication, her summary of the poems maintains that despite their complex allegorical imagery, they have two recurrent themes — patriotic responsibility and respect for the sciences. Kolosova's short discussion of the *Eucharisterion* is the only scholarly attempt to deal with the poems as a related set of texts.

In this paper, I shall examine the panegyric tradition to which the *Eucharisterion* belongs, and argue that the import of the document is not exhausted by its stated intention of honoring and thanking Mohyla. It is my view that the work harbors a complex allegorical statement on the founder of the Kiev school and the institution itself, and sheds light on the historical circumstances that motivated its composition.

First, however, it will be necessary to describe the content of the *Eucharisterion* and indicate some of its more salient features.

The Title Page

The *Eucharisterion* consists of eighteen unpaginated sheets, that is, thirty-six pages.[7] The cover bears the title and a long dedication to ". . . Peter Mohyla, Vojevodyč of the Moldavian Lands. . . . Pious Promoter and Defender of the Orthodox Faith and the Holy Eastern Church, Worthy of Immortal Glory. From the Pupils of the Class of Rhetoric of His Grace's *Gymnasium,* in gratitude for the lavish benefactions offered to them and to the Orthodox Church through the Founding of Schools." The final words of the dedication tell us that the *Eucharisterion* was "dutifully and courteously delivered during the congratulatory ceremony on the occasion of the praiseworthy Feast of the Resurrection of Christ."[8]

The inside front cover bears an engraving of Peter Mohyla's coat of arms, accompanied by a poem of ten lines. This pictorial and verbal text, which constitutes a single whole, is entitled "Stemma Jasnevelmožnyx" Mohylov"" ("Stemma of the Most Eminent Mohylas"). The poem, like all the poems in the *Eucharisterion,* is written in syllabic thirteen-syllable verse with a caesura following the seventh syllable; all the rhymes are feminine. Heraldic in theme, it is an apostrophe to an eagle who is placing two crowns on an armet *à rondelle* located in the upper right-hand corner of the coat of arms.[9]

[7] For a more detailed description see Titov, *Materijaly,* p. 305.

[8] The full text reads: "Jasne Prevelebnĭjšomu v Xrystĭ Jeho Mylosty Hospodynu Otcu Kyr Petru Mohylĭ, Voevodyču Zeml' Moldavskyx", Velykomu Arxymandritovy Svjatoj Velykoy Lavry Čudotvornoy Pečerskoy Kievskoy, Vĭry Pravoslavnoy v Cerkvi Svjatoy V"stočnoj: Promotorovy Pobožnomu, y nesmertelnoy slavy Hodnomy oboroncy. Od" Spudeov" Hymnazium" jeho Mylosty z Školy Retoriky, Za hojnyy Dobrodĭjstva, sobĭ i C(e)rkvi Pravoslavnoj, v fundovanju Škol" pokazanyy. Pry vĭnšovanju svjat xvalebnyx" V"skresenija Xrysta Spasytelja mĭru, povynne a ouprejme otdanaja."

[9] An engraving of Mohyla's coat of arms is reproduced in Hans Rothe, *Die älteste ostslawische Kunstdichtung,* p. 483.

The eagle soars "very high" when he places crowns on the coat of arms of the Mohylas: "O Orle: tož" vysoko nadder vylitaeš"./Hdy na herb" cnyx Mohylov" Korony vkladaeš,/." The crowns are symbols of both monarchs and exarchs, thus reminding the audience and readers that the archimandrite is both a prince of the church and a scion of secular rulers, the Moldavian hospodars: "Netolko toho svita znak" vladzy Monarxov",/ Ale tež i Duxovnyx" ozdobu Ekzarxov",/." After stating that the bird has been accustomed to carrying fierce thunderbolts, the narrative voice counsels the eagle to replace harshness with gentleness. The poem concludes with a final exhortation to the eagle, telling it to guard the crowns of the Mohylas because now, in the eyes of the church, they are symbols of its defense.

The "Introduction"

The next section is Sofronij Počas'kyj's prose address to Mohyla, which serves as an explanation of what motivated the composition of the *Eucharisterion*'s poems. Počas'kyj tells the story of the King of Vafalia (Król' Vafalenskij) who, according to legend, burned a candle as a sign of his warmth and good disposition toward his subjects. He continues, saying that until recently, the Orthodox Queen Minerva had been infertile, due to the "assaults and stormings" she had suffered at the hands of the degenerate children of the universal church. Now, thanks to the kindness and providence of God, Orthodox science has Orthodox sons, brought together through Mohyla's efforts and support of the arts. These sons now seek an appropriate way to express their gratitude to Mohyla. They have decided against giving the archimandrite gold, because he has already offered both his wealth and himself to Minerva. Diamonds are also dismissed, because Mohyla is already as pure as they; moreover, he sees devotees of the arts as precious gems. Consequently, Minerva decides to erect, symbolically, the mounts of Helicon and Parnassus, so that the young, with their corporeal and spiritual sight, might "read" in them about Mohyla's glory.

Woven into Počas'kyj's account are examples of the archimandrite's past military exploits against the Ottoman Turks; reference is also made to his defense of the church and his efforts to establish schools. The virtues attributed to him — "humanity, kindness . . . , a good disposition toward the humblest of people" — are designated as Mohyla's "arrayed host" ("Hufec" oušykovanyj"). Počas'kyj alludes to a folk saying when he states "by aiming high, glory reaches

high places" ("slava vysoko litajučy vysoko sïdaet""), emphasizing in this way just how fitting it is that Mohyla's glory should ascend the newly erected summits and occupy such a high place, particularly at a time when nature (through the arrival of spring) and the spirit (through the resurrection of Christ) are also being renewed. In the context of all these images of revitalization, Mohyla, too, appears as a force of renewal. The section concludes by urging Mohyla to accept the humble gift being offered to him.

The First Cycle of Poems

The texts that follow are divided into two groups: allegories on Helicon and on Parnassus. The first group is introduced by an engraving depicting Mohyla in the robes of an archimandrite; he stands on the summit of Mount Helicon, holding in his right hand the staff of a "Shepherd" and the cross of "Faith," while in his left hand he grasps the "Branch of Wisdom." A short distance to his left appear the discarded symbols of secular authority — the crown, the scepter, and the purple robe. The composition's frame bears the inscription (reading from left to right): "Vdjačny Bohu i familiy" ("Grateful unto God and Family"). Heraldic elements in the corners of the frame form the letters of Mohyla's first name, PETR. The engraving is accompanied by three rhyming couplets. The first states that he who has been called to defend God leaves behind the symbols of earthly power, and the second and third address Mohyla as the fortunate archimandrite to whom knowledge of God has been granted. Thus, even though Authority, Glory, and Adornment lie rejected under his feet, Faith and Love of God soar above him.

The set of poems entitled "Helykon". To jest", sad" umïjetnosty pervyj" ("Helicon. That is, the first Garden of Science") deals with the "eight roots of the liberal arts" (Osm" Korenij Vyzvolenyx" Nauk").[10] The first poem, also entitled "Helykon"," sets the tone. The narrative voice announces that wisdom has Paradise as its source, and not the Hippocrene fountain. For this reason, it orders Helicon to bow before the triumph of Christ. The narrative voice greets Christ, the victorious heavenly ruler, in the person of the archimandrite, "V Osobï tvoej

[10] The full subtitle reads: "Osm" Korenij Vyzvolenyx" Nauk" v' sobï majučij, prez Prečestnijšoho j(eho) My(losty) H(ospo)d(y)na O(t)ca Ky(r) Petra Mohylu v Rossiy novo fundovanyj. Vdjačnost'. Helykon" žrodlo Nauk" vdjačnost' posylaet" Tvoej, Otče, s(vja)tyni, bo v nej mïstce maet"."

svĭtloj, Otče Velebnĭjšij,/ Vitaju Krolja, vyžu Triumf" prezacnĭjšij," thus casting Mohyla in the role of intercessor between Christ and the audience. The voice also orders that songs of praise and gratitude no longer be sung by the Muses to Helicon and Phoebus (an epithet for Apollo).

The poems that follow are dedicated to the arts traditionally associated with the *trivium* and *quadrivium* — Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. Each poem explains the benefits to be gained if these arts are used to serve the spiritual aims of Orthodoxy. Almost every poem praises Christ and expresses gratitude to Mohyla. Following these seven poems is one praising Theology, designated as the eighth root of the liberal arts and as "the root and crown of all knowledge." The next poem, addressed to the archimandrite and entitled "Vdjačnost'" ("Gratitude"), discusses the reciprocal relationship between Mother and Child, Lord and Servant, Shepherd and Flock. In all such cases, those in the subject positions are guided by their master's example. The poem ends by stressing that Mohyla shall always remain a Father, Lord, and Shepherd unto his Flock, assuming that he does not forsake it.

The last poem in this section is a brief text with a long title: "V" Pres(vja)toj trojcy jedynosyl'nomu, i jedynoč(e)stnomu Bohu, Čest', Poklon", Slava, Vdjačnost' na viky"; it stresses the Orthodox credo of the triune nature of God. The poem concludes with a prayer beseeching God to kindle a flame in the archimandrite's heart so that he might give warmth to the flowers of the new Helicon.

Thus far the *Eucharisterion* has made these points: (1) the Resurrected Christ leads to the salvation of the soul; (2) the return of the sun to the northern signs heralds the arrival of spring and the renewal of nature; (3) the revitalization of Orthodox education occurs through the patronage of Mohyla, who acts as the instrument of providence.

The Second Cycle of Poems

The next section of the *Eucharisterion* is preceded by the pamphlet's third and final engraving. Appearing on page twenty-two, it depicts the Roman hero Mucius Scaevola standing on the twin-peaked summit of Parnassus; his right hand is thrust in a flame labelled "The Fire of the Etruscans." Scaevola's left hand holds a sword through which an inverted crown is threaded. The words above it indicate that this is the crown of "Glory." Scaevola's gaze is directed upward toward a cloud

on his left from which two extended hands offer him, "the faithful victor (Vïrnomu zvytïjažci)," a cross and a scepter with a crown threaded through it. The frame of the composition contains the inscription "Požytečnyj z Bohom" familiy" ("With God Useful to the Family"). Again the corners and vertical sides of the frame contain elements in the form of letters (some of them clearly recognizable as belonging to Mohyla's coat of arms); these spell out the surname MOHYLA. The six verses immediately below the engraving cite the traditional claim that the Mohylas were descendants of the Scaevola family.[11]

The parallel drawn between the Roman hero and Mohyla is of special interest to us. The text claims that just as Scaevola did not spare his right hand in defending his *patria,* so Mohyla, his descendant, the present-day Scaevola, courageously bares his entire being to the danger of fire: "Znak" zaiste Potomka, po tom" hdy vse Tïlo/ Ne tolko ruku žaret", naš Scevola smilo." This pictorial and verbal depiction of Scaevola-Mohyla introduces a second set of poems entitled: "Parnass". Albo, sad" umïjetnosty vtoryj" ("Parnassus, or the Second Garden of Science"). As the subtitle indicates, this section deals with the "ten offshoots of the liberal arts" which, thanks to Mohyla's efforts, are "released in the spring as a special favor from God to the Ruthenian nation."[12] Following an introductory poem about Mohyla's Parnassus (celebrating the arrival of spring and the efflorescence of the liberal arts) come ten poems dedicated to the Muses and Apollo.

In this cycle the Muses are exhorted to celebrate Christ because of his triumph over death. They are also enjoined to celebrate Mohyla as the shepherd of Christ's flock (the poem "Melpomene"), as the Atlas who continuously supports the firmament of the Church in times of danger (the poem "Uranija"), and as a valorous knight (the poem "Kallyope"). It is noteworthy that while in the poem "Helykon"" of the first cycle Mohyla appeared as an agent of God through whom Christ's triumph was perceptible ("V Osobï tvoej . . . vyžu Tryumf" prezacnïjšij . . ."), in two poems of this cycle Mohyla is depicted as not merely reflecting divine victory, but as having achieved one personally. Let us examine this aspect carefully.

In the poem addressed to her, Melpomene, the "muse of sad and

[11] For a discussion of this tradition see Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit,* 1: 4.

[12] The full subtitle reads: "Staran'em" i koštom" Jasne Prevelebnïjšoho v" X(ryst)ï J(e)ho M(y)l(osty) H(ospo)d(y)na Otca Ky(r) PETRA MOHYLy, Arxymandrita Kievskoho, Voevodyča Zeml' Moldavskyx". Podčas Vesny osoblyvoe

mournful songs," is told not to detract from the feast with her traditional songs, but to honor the victorious Christ. In acknowledging the heavenly master she is urged not to forget the earthly master, namely, the archimandrite. In praising Mohyla she is expected to express her astonishment at Peter's "steadfastness . . . in victory":

Pry n(e)b(e)snom" zemnoho nezabyvaj voža,
V" X(rysto)voj ovčarny dost' pylnoho stroža:
A xvaljačy dyvujsja, jak" jest" opočystyj,
Petr v zvïtjažstvï, a v" žytju jak by kryštal čystyj.

In the poem addressed to Calliope, "the singer of glorious victors," the Muse is exhorted to pass over in silence the deeds of the pagans Heracles, Achilles, Hector, and Aeneas, for now she has a knight of unparalleled strength — Christ. But she must also know that there are heroes in the present unsettled times, and that Mohyla equals both ancient and present heroes, because he is a victor:

Kallyope zvytjažcov" preslavnyx" poxvalo
Oumolkny, ščosja pred tym" za pohan stavalo,
Ne vynosy Alcydu z Axyllesom" dïlnym",
Ne zalecaj Hektora z Eneašem" Syl'nym'
Oto maeš" Rycera, mocij neslyxanyx",
Zvïtjažcu nad Erebom syl neporovnanyx:
Esly dlja sprav" vysokyx" do pekla dorohu,
Eteovy zmyslyla, pryznaj to vse B(o)hu:
Po nem" tež" zadyvujsja yž" netolko staryj
Vïk" množyl Bohatyrev", leč y naš nestalyj
Porovnaet" Rycerov" naš Mohyla davnyx",
Bo zvïtjažca taemnyx" est" vespol y javnyx".

The poems dedicated to the Muses are followed by a poem dedicated to Apollo, the "branch, bloom, and embellishment of the arts and sciences" ("Lïtorosl', cvït, ozdoba Vsïx" nauk", y umïjetnostij"). An apostrophe to this deity (addressed as the sun-god Phoebus) beseeches him to direct his radiant might on the "horizon" of the new school and its students so that the fruits of learning flowering at the Caves Monastery do not perish from the inclemency of winter: "Spusty na naš" Xoryzont" skutok" tvoej mocy,/ By ne ousxly ot zymy novyy ovocy." The god is invited to visit the gardens of virtue flourishing at the Caves Monastery as well as the Ruthenian lands which yearn for knowledge. Once there, he is to slay the Python and subdue the Cyclopes and prepare for the arrival of Minerva. As long as

---

ku Narodovy ROSSIYSKOmu Lasky Božey, Desjat" lïtoraslij Nauk" vyzvolenyx už" z sebe vypuščaet"."

Apollo cedes his place to the first victor, the true God, Helicon and the Muses are ready to accompany him in song, explains the narrative voice. The god is told that his lyre and lute shall remain at his side and that his honored place among the arts will be assured forever.

Two poems conclude this second cycle. The first, entitled "Vdjačnost'" ("Gratitude"), begs Mohyla's gracious acceptance of the humble offering being presented, and urges him to continue his patronage. The second, an apostrophe entitled "Prečystoj y Prebl(ahoslo)vennoj Dìvì Mariy, Materi V"skresšaho Spasytelja Našeho Isusa Xrysta. Xvala, hodnost' y poklon vdjačnosty na vìky" ("To the Most Pure and Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Resurrected Saviour Jesus Christ, [Our] Praise, Honor and Bows of Gratitude Forever") declares Mary, the most beautiful bloom in the Garden of Paradise and the most beautiful jewel among humans, to be patroness of the new Parnassus (i.e., the Caves School), replacing Pallas Athena. The pagan Muses are said to have been exiled and the Virgin Mary is requested to guard the man (Mohyla) who will fund the arts.

The Last Page

The *Eucharisterion* concludes with the poem entitled "Zoylevy nevdjačnomu. Vdjačnost'" (Unto Ungrateful Zoilus. Gratitude). In this brief text Mohyla's detractors — personified as the grammarian and critic Zoilus — are warned not to bare their fangs at hard rock (a verbal play on the archimandrite's first name) because the glory of the Mohylas is well founded and is upheld by a battery of educated people.

***

Although on the surface the work appears to be diverse and fragmented, the *Eucharisterion* is in fact a coherent "whole" both thematically and formally. Its pictorial and verbal texts are clearly complimentary. Moreover, its unity is assured by the dual theme of restoration — one spiritual (Easter), the other educational — between which parallels are suggested. Within this context a complex image of Mohyla emerges; it may be partly fact and partly idealization, but its importance certainly lies in its celebration of Mohyla himself and his achievements.

The text carefully underscores the preeminence of Christ and his resurrection by subordinating to Christ the arts and sciences supported by Mohyla. Nonetheless, Mohyla assumes unusual stature. He is

symbolically "coronated" and "elevated," called a defender of his *patria,* compared to a Titan, and referred to as a knight and victor. It is through Mohyla that the Orthodox Minerva regains her "productivity," and through him that the new Helicon and Parnassus blossom and flower.

Although this extraordinary image of Mohyla dominates the panegyric, there are a few didactic, even humbling elements in the text as well. At the beginning, as the eagle is crowning Mohyla's coat of arms, it is unexpectedly exhorted to exchange harshness for gentleness — possibly a veiled admonition to Mohyla himself: "Teper" srohost" v laskavost" čas" już otmïnyty." In the poem "Vdjačnost'" of the Helicon cycle, Mohyla is told that his subjects' filial love, service, and obedience are contingent on his own kindness: "Otcem", Panom", Pastyrom", zavše našym" budeš,/ Jesly nas" v tvoej lasce nïhdy ne zabudeš"." Elsewhere Apollo, although addressed most positively as sun-god and symbol of the arts and sciences, is reminded of his subordinate position vis-à-vis the resurrected Christ.

The themes and characteristics of the *Eucharisterion* can be better understood within the framework of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance tradition of the panegyric.

The panegyric of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century constituted a synthesis of two heritages, the Greek and the Roman. From the first came the tradition of linking the panegyric with public and ceremonial occasions.[13] From the second came the inheritance of courtly characteristics. The Roman heritage was popularized when eleven third- and fourth-century panegyric orations, together with their first-century model, that is, Pliny's oration to the emperor Trajan, began circulating in a collection commonly called *panegyrici veteres.*[14]

During the Renaissance, the panegyric was considered a speech or oration (in either prose or verse) delivered before a solemn gathering and addressed to a monarch or powerful person. It often betrayed a conciliatory impulse and sought to foster harmony between ruler and subjects.

13 See George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton, 1963), pp. 166–67.

14 The *editio princeps* of C. Pliny's oration to Trajan and of the *panegyrici veteres* appeared in Milan in 1476. By 1632 there were at least nine editions of these speeches.

The most influential Renaissance author, Desiderius Erasmus, believed that the panegyric was a respectable form of writing. He maintained that the true purpose of the panegyric was not to offer empty praise, but to present the ruler with an image worthy of imitation. In his *Panegyricus* to Archduke Philip of Burgundy, Erasmus implemented his concept by elaborating on two main themes: (1) the restoration of civic life that would occur when Philip returned to Brussels from a lengthy European tour; (2) the limitations on the ruler placed by the laws of men and nature. Apart from instructing the archduke that a ruler's long absence is not beneficial to his people, Erasmus directed Philip toward patronage of the arts and protection of peace.[15] The panegyric was presented to Philip on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1504.[16] The *Panegyricus* was republished in 1516 alongside two tracts on royal education in Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani.*[17] Through this republication, the work exerted great influence on the panegyric of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century.

The *Eucharisterion* echoes the traditional practices of this type of public poetry in that it is directed at a most worthy addressee and is motivated by special circumstances. Contrary to what the title would have us believe, the *Eucharisterion* is more than an *actio gratiarum.* In my opinion, it seeks to portray and to celebrate its addressee as a victor, and to promote harmony between the archimandrite and his flock.

While the *actio gratiarum* is signaled by the title, the victory theme of this work is initiated by the pictorial and verbal text of the "Stemma Jasnevelmožnyx" Mohylov"." The image of the eagle placing crowns on the coat of arms of the Mohylas suggests the polysemous nature of

[15] See *The Epistles of Erasmus,* trans. Francis Morgan Nichols, vol. 1 (New York, 1962), Epistles 176 and 177, pp. 363–69. Illustrating Erasmus's conception of the panegyric is the following excerpt from his letter to the Bishop of Arras, where the author discusses the difficulties he encountered when composing the panegyric to Philip: "Another difficulty was this, that the simplicity of my character, to speak honestly, somewhat shrank from this kind of writing, to which that sentence of Socrates seems alone, or mainly, to apply when he says that Rhetoric is one of three parts of flattery. And yet this kind of ours is not so much praise (αἵνεσις) as admonition (παραίνεσις). For there is no such efficacious mode of making a prince better as that of setting before him, under the guise of praise, the example of a good sovereign, provided you so attribute virtues and deny vices as to persuade him to the former and deter him from the latter." (p. 364)

[16] The panegyric is published in Cornelis Reedjik, ed., *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 272–76.

[17] For a discussion of the *Institutio* and an account of its early editions, see

the word "stemma": besides signifying "pedigree" or "genealogical tree," the word means "garland" and "crown" in Greek and is related to the Greek verb *stephein,* 'to crown'. The associations evoked by the noun's etymology (that is, the crowning of a festival victor with a garland or crown) are clearly not at all gratuitous.[18] This image foreshadows the identification of Mohyla with the "victor" Scaevola (who receives from heaven a crown, scepter, and cross) and the description of the archimandrite as a victor in the poems "Melpomene" and "Kallyope." Moreover, I submit that the apostrophe to the eagle is implicitly directed at Mohyla, who, in this way, is urged not to be harsh in victory, in order that his present triumph and the common good of the Orthodox community may be preserved.

If the "Stemma" is not merely an unusual heraldic poem, as treated by D. Čyževs'kyj,[19] but a functional part of the panegyric with a purpose beyond the one expressed on the cover of the tract, we need to look at the historical events that actually motivated the *Eucharisterion.* A brief review of what preceded the celebration is therefore in order.

***

Soon after his elevation to the post of archimandrite in 1627, Mohyla announced plans to found an institution of higher learning which, while Orthodox in spirit, would emphasize the instruction of Latin and Polish. From the very beginning, the plans met with suspicion and opposition. On the one hand, the conservative Orthodox clergy, echoing arguments once raised by the writer Ivan Vyšens'kyj, argued that the imitation of the Latins (that is, Roman Catholics) would lead to damnation and saw in Mohyla's plans a Catholic plot designed to ruin Orthodoxy. On the other hand, the members of the Kiev Brotherhood of the Epiphany, under whose tutelage a school had been in existence since 1615–1616 in the Podil district of the city, saw in Mohyla's planned school a threat to their interests.[20]

Lester K. Born's introduction to Erasmus, *The Education of the Christian Prince* (New York, 1936).

18 Early Greek panegyrics included praise and discussion of the nature of the crown awarded to the festival victor. This practice was recommended in the *Art of Rhetoric* attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see Kennedy, *Art of Persuasion,* p. 167).

19 Cf. fn. 5.

20 For an account of the early history of the school see Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit,* 1: 413–28.

The situation was so tense that Iov Borec'kyj, metropolitan of Kiev and Mohyla's close friend, thought it necessary to block the archimandrite's project. He stipulated in his testament that schools aimed at the upbringing of Christian children should be funded only on the premises of the school run by the Brotherhood of the Epiphany. The prohibition was made by the dying metropolitan under the threat that violators would lose his blessing.[21] Upon learning about Borec'kyj's stipulation, and perhaps with an eye on the metropolitan's throne that had become vacant in early March 1631, the archimandrite set about to improve his relationship with the Brotherhood. As part of the rapprochement, Mohyla promised to donate the funds intended for his own school toward the fund of the Brotherhood school. In return the Brotherhood conferred on him the title of elder brother, protector, and founder on 11 March 1631. However, the rapprochement did not last. Elevated to the metropolitan see and consecrated on 20 July 1631 was a more conservative candidate, Isaja Kopyns'kyj — Mohyla's life-long opponent. With his aspirations thwarted, Mohyla plunged into preparations for the opening of his school at the Caves Monastery.[22]

Having obtained patriarchal blessing for his school, but lacking the sanction of Kopyns'kyj and the Kievans, Mohyla opened his *gymnasium* in the fall of 1631. This overt defiance of both the metropolitan and the Brotherhood stirred, naturally enough, great animosity. Havryjil Domec'kij and Sylvester Kossov described the hostile behavior of "uneducated priests and Cossacks" toward the *gymnasium*'s professors and their "Latin" brand of education, and even toward Mohyla himself.[23] The archimandrite also raised a furor when, in order to make room for his school, he evicted the sick and elderly monks who inhabited the Trinity Hospital of the Caves Monastery. When the monks protested, Mohyla punished them harshly (their *ihumen* died as a result of retributive measures).[24]

According to S. Golubev, the situation became so grave that Mohyla was obliged to resume negotiations with the Brotherhood. The result of this new rapprochement, that is, the merger of the two schools, has traditionally been viewed as a capitulation on Mohyla's

[21] The original text of Borec'kyj's testament appears on pp. 395–99 of S. Golubev, *Materialy dlja istorii Zapadno-russkoj cerkvi,* which was appended to vol. 1 of his *Kievskij mitropolit.*
[22] Golubev, *Materialy,* pp. 430–34.
[23] Golubev, *Materialy,* pp.435–36.
[24] Golubev, *Materialy,* pp. 332 and 435.

part. Recently, however, Alexander Sydorenko has argued that the negotiations resulted in a victory for the archimandrite. His opinion was based on the study of three charters documenting the steps in the union of Mohyla's *gymnasium* and the Brotherhood school.

The first charter, dated 20 December 1631, states that the Kiev nobility and Brotherhood of the Epiphany had, upon seeing "the great desirability, need, and advantage in the establishment of schools" in the city of Kiev, requested Mohyla to merge his school with that of the Brotherhood. The charter renewed the investiture of the title of "elder brother" upon Mohyla and stipulated that the Brotherhood would not oppose his counsel and will. In the second charter, dated 5 January 1632, Metropolitan Kopyns'kyj and other Orthodox bishops stress that Mohyla's decision to merge both schools was voluntary, and reiterate the points of the December document, thus recognizing Mohyla's control over the Brotherhood. The third charter, signed by Hetman Petražyc'kyj and the Zaporozhian Host and dated 12 March 1632, beseeched Mohyla to fund the Brotherhood school and in exchange vowed the Host's eternal protection for the institution.[25]

***

Sydorenko's conclusion seems to have some corroboration in the depiction of Mohyla in the *Eucharisterion*. One can hypothesize that the representation of the archimandrite as a victor was a public declaration of his triumph and of the accord reached between the opposing parties. It is important to recall that the *actio gratiarum,* although offered by the pupils of the Caves *gymnasium,* acknowledges Mohyla as benefactor of the entire Orthodox church, and not only as the patron of his own monastery school.[26] Sydorenko's interpretation of the compromise between Mohyla and his opponents will probably be controversial. But whatever the outcome of the scholarly dialogue on this subject may be, the fact is that those responsible for the *Eucharisterion* were interested in portraying the archimandrite as a victor.

In light of the antagonisms that reigned before the merger of the schools, it is plausible to see in the *Eucharisterion* an attempt to placate Mohyla's opponents and restore harmony. On the basis of a description of the Feast of the Assumption, which in 1628 attracted to

[25] Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy,* pp. 29–31.
[26] Cf. fn. 8.

the Caves Monastery large masses of people from both the secular and clerical spheres,[27] it can be conjectured that Easter, the major feast of the Eastern church, provided not only a solemn, but also a truly public (that is, panegyrical) occasion for such purposes. The choice of this day (conveniently, Easter came barely two weeks after the Zaporozhian Host agreed to protect Mohyla's new school) was felicitous because of the feast's customary association with rituals of mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.

In the Renaissance panegyric, the theme of restoration drew on the laudatory techniques of the demonstrative branch of oratory and was used to arouse an audience's admiration for the ruler's virtues and to win him allegiance.[28] In order to be effective, the orator was obliged to present historical fact as something inevitable and providential.[29] In the *Eucharisterion* this theme is developed as the "restoration" of Orthodox Minerva's fertility. This achievement is attributed first to divine Providence and only then to Mohyla, but that in no way detracts from his eminence.

The poems of the *Eucharisterion* that discuss the liberal arts and the arts allegorized by the Muses invariably exalt the Christian adaptation of pagan wisdom. For example, the teaching of pious rhetoric reaps a rich harvest of virtues, dialectics assist the faithful in disputes against the Uniates, geometry helps to attain true knowledge of God. The adaptation has been made possible through Christ's resurrection. Because of Christ's triumph, the damage caused by original sin is reversed and Christians can transform pagan knowledge into true Christian knowledge and regard it as their own:

Esly z' dobroho stalsja zlym" čelovĭk peršij,
Vtoryj vse to otmĭnyl" diavola steršy,
Tedy z Nauk" pohanskyx latvo oučynyty
Xrystianom" Xrystovu y za svoju mĭty.
(from the poem "Erato")

Because now honor is paid to the true source of wisdom on Mohyla's Helicon and Parnassus, he himself gains in respect: "To tvoej Prevelebnoj vse služyt osobĭ,/ Vysokoe v' Vysokoj Imja est' ozdobĭ"

[27] Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* vol. 8 (New York, 1956), p. 73.
[28] Renaissance textbooks acknowledged that classical panegyrics depended on three branches of oratory — the judicial, demonstrative, and deliberative. In practice, however, Renaissance panegyricists relied solely on the last two. See James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of the Panegyric* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1975) especially chapter 2, "Backgrounds," pp. 38–82.
[29] See Garrison, *Dryden,* p. 59.

("All of this serves your Most Illustrious person,/ [Thus your] esteemed name is greatly embellished" [from the poem "Helykon""]).

The restoration theme is reinforced by references to spring and, especially, to Easter. Mohyla is beckoned to the summits of Helicon and Parnassus at the time when the sun returns to the northern signs and the earth undergoes rejuvenation: "hdy za vstupen"em" s(o)lnca v znaky pul"nočnyy svît" zemnyj z zymy sja smîet", hory kvîtkamy odîvaet", y vzrok" outîšajučy farbuet". . . . " And seasonal change is linked with Christ's resurrection: "hdy s(o)lnce predvîčnoe z pod zemnyx" kraev" vynyknuvšy, dušu znovu na horou sp(ase)nija podnosyt" . . ." ("when the eternal sun emerging from under the terrestrial abodes again elevates the soul unto the mount of salvation . . ." [from Počas'kyj's prose text]).

The seasonal dimension of the theme surfaces a number of times in the second cycle of poems. It receives special attention in "Parnass","
where the restoration is presented as a contrast between the past, depicted as winter, and the present, depicted as spring. Simultaneously a link is established with the "virtuous sciences" funded by Mohyla, who again is lauded:

Po smutku zavše radost' v tropy vystupuet",
Po temnostjax zas' svîtlost tužsja pokazuet,
Po suxom" lîtî Osin', za toju tež' xodyt"
Zyma y čas" trosklyvyj z soboju pryvodyt".
Za frasunkom" vesel'e zavše postupuet",
Po Zymi časov" prykryx" Vesnu Boh daruet".
Juž" Vesna utix" novyx", veselja novoho
Krynyca, a požar" zas" frasunku staroho:
Zjavylosja Hyblejskyx" juž" vod" strumenystyx',
Źródlo pîsnij, z Parnassu ot kanalov" čystyx":
Pry tom" tež" z pol' Aktejskyx Zefiry povstajut',
Pryst'e Vesny vesolym vîtrom" osvîdčajut'.
Vprod" ednak" v' tvoem sadî spravjat' oxolodu,
Lîtorosly podnesut" y dadut" pohodu,
Fundatore pobožnyj Cnyx" Nauk" patrone,
Vsîx" utîxo učonyx", vsîx Muz" Cyterone.
Twój Parnass" lîtorasly vdjačnyy vydaet",
Y zapaxov" roskošnyx vonnost' vypuščaet,
A ym" swój verx" do neba on" vyšej podnosyt",
Tym jasnij twój xvalebny stan" svîtu holosyt.

/After sadness joy steps forth,
After darkness light appears,
After the dry summer there is autumn, and in its footsteps
Walks winter and brings times of grief.

After grief mirth always makes its progress,
After the winter harshness God bestows spring.
The spring of new delights, of new mirth the
Wellspring and the death of old grief [has arrived] already.
[There has] appeared a source of songs of Hyblaean
streaming waters from pure Parnassian channels.
In concert there Zephyrs arise from Actean fields
and with their joyful winds announce the coming of spring.
Nonetheless, they will first refresh your garden
bring forth the [young] shoots and give fair weather.
[Oh] pious founder, patron of the virtuous sciences,
Delight of all learned [men], Cytheron of all the Muses,
Your Parnassus issues grateful branches
And luxurious aromas,
And raising its summit even higher to the heavens,
Announces even more clearly your praiseworthy position/.

The techniques and metaphorical patterns employed in the *Eucharisterion*'s restoration theme were rather common in the Renaissance panegyric tradition. The reference to the sun's return to the northern signs, the rejuvenation it brings, the contrast between the past and the present all stem from a tradition that dates back to Pliny's oration to Trajan, Claudian's *Panegyricus De Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti,* and the texts published in the collection of the *panegyrici veteres*. In Claudian, for example, the benefits Honorius's office brought Rome were compared to the changes brought by Apollo's return from the altars of the north to his Delphic tripod.[30] In Pliny, comparison of the

[30] See, for example, the following passage, where Claudian compares Honorius's installation to the return of Apollo: "When fair Apollo leaves Delphi's shrine and visits the altars of the north, Castalia's waters differ in no wise from those of any common stream, nor the laurel from any common tree; sad and silent is the cave and the shrine without a worshipper. But if Phoebus is there, Phoebus returned from Scythian climes to his Delphic tripod, guiding thither his yoked griffins, the woods, the caves regain their voice, the streams their life; the sacred ripple revisits the face of the waters, a clearer echo resounds from the shrine and the now inspired rocks tremble to the voice of prophecy. Now the Palatine Mount is exalted with honour and rejoices in the return of its native deity; far and wide among the suppliant peoples it spreads oracles surer even than those of Delphi and bids its laurels grow green again to deck the standards of Rome." *Claudian,* trans. Maurice Plantnauer, vol. 2 (London and New York, 1922), p. 77, lines 25–38. It should be noted that Claudian was much admired in seventeenth-century Poland: for example, M. K. Sarbiewski in his lectures on poetics mentions Claudian as an exemplary panegyrist, worthy of imitation (see note 36). For classical models of Polish panegyric poetry, see the following studies: Michał Janik, "Z dziejów wymowy w wieku XVII i XVIII," pts. 1 and 2, in *Pamiętnik Literacki* (Lviv, 1908), pp. 265–77 and pp. 431–81; Stanisław Dąbrowski, "O panegiryku," in *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 48, no. 3 (1965): 101–110; Zbigniew Rynduch, *Nauka o stylach w retorykach*

past with the present served to contrast Trajan's virtues with his predecessors' vices. In the *Eucharisterion*'s poem "Parnass"," spring reveals itself in the efflorescence of the literary arts and constitutes a joyful triumph over the sadness of winter. Also, it has metaphorical patterns and specific images reminiscent of Erasmus's panegyric to Philip:

> When you were far away from here, everything was in a state of neglect due to grief; then as soon as you are here safe and sound, everything glows again with care and cultivation. Thus when bitter winter makes the breezes harsh with north winds, the bare ground lies wasted and spent with age, gardens are in mourning without flowers, rivers become sluggish, trees are lifeless without their leaves, the grainfield lies barren of its crop, the plains dry up without grass; again when spring returns with west winds blowing warmly, gardens are studded with flower buds like jewels, rivers are free to flow, trees become green and alive again with foliage, grain fields flourish in their crop, the plains delight in their grass.[31]

Through imagery of rejuvenated nature Erasmus asks his audience to appreciate the archduke as a mythic figure capable of restoring life with his presence. Parallels between this image and that found in another poem by Erasmus on Christ's harrowing of hell ("Carmen heroicum de solemnitate paschali atque de tryumphali Christi resurgentis pompa et descensu eius ad inferos," c. 1489) invite a connection between national restoration and the resurrection.[32]

Although some works of Erasmus were probably known at the Mohyla school, we cannot be certain that these particular works were among them. We do know, however, that the treatment of spring as a symbol of Christ's victory over the "wintry" forces of evil and heresy

---

polskich XVII wieku (Gdańsk, 1967); Stanisław Dąbrowski, "Z problematyki panegiryku," in *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 66, no. 3 (1968): 43–55.

[31] This translation is by Garrison, *Dryden*, p. 71. The original reads as follows:

Quum procul hinc aberas squalebant omnia luctu,
Mox ut saluus ades renitescunt omnia cultu.
Sic ubi tristis hyems aquilonibus asperat auras
Nuda senescit humus, moerent sine floribus horti,
Torpescunt amnes, languet sine frondibus arbos,
Stat sine fruge seges, marcent sine gramine campi;
Rursus ubi zephyris tepidum spirantibus anni
Leta iuventa redit, gemmantur floribus horti,
Effugiunt amnes, revirescit frondibus arbos,
Fruge nitent segetes, hilarescunt gramine campi.

(see Reedjik, *Poems of Erasmus,* p. 273, lines 22–31).

[32] This was pointed out in Garrison, *Dryden,* p. 72. The text of Erasmus's *Carmen* appears in Reedjik, *Poems of Erasmus,* pp. 190–95.

was known in Ukrainian literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through Gregory of Nazianus.[33] His treatment of the theme, originally known in Rus' from the sermons of Kirill of Turov (twelfth century), was rediscovered when these sermons were recopied in the sixteenth century.[34]

Whether the winter-spring imagery in the *Eucharisterion* is a direct echo of Erasmus, a tradition stemming from the *panegyrici veteres,* or simply a common topos deserves further study. But whatever the case may be, in panegyrical literature images of spring symbolized political and institutional change, the advent of a new age. In the *Eucharisterion,* too, the season marks a turning point. In anticipation of the new age, celebration is in order: Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, is exhorted to forsake grief, and Calliope, the Muse of Epic Poetry, is instructed to laud Mohyla, the present-day hero. On the one hand, these exhortations suggest the importance of Mohyla's achievement. On the other, in line with the propagandistic function of the restoration theme, they serve to elevate the archimandrite in the eyes of the panegyrical audience.

This brings us to another aspect of the restoration theme: the portrayal of the *optimus princeps,* or ideal ruler. Scholars have regarded Počas'kyj's prose text, with its direct enumeration of Mohyla's virtues and attributes, as merely the dedicatory foreword to the panegyric proper, whereas it should probably be considered the *laus regis,* or praise of the addressee as an ideal ruler. In the theory of the panegyric, the *laus regis* praised a king's achievements and depended on the commendatory topics of demonstrative oratory. In Renaissance practice, however, it also focused on the king's political future and, consequently, tended toward the didactic topics of deliberative oratory.[35] In the *Eucharisterion,* Počas'kyj's prose text limits itself to praising the archimandrite. It ascribes to Mohyla the following qualities: (1) unequalled generosity in service to Minerva; (2) perseverance, patience, and fortitude in the work of establishing schools; and (3) humanity, kindness, and compassion toward the humble. It is reasonable to assume that at least some of the virtues enumerated here do not actually describe Mohyla, but are part of the panegyric tradition that posits an ideal ruler whom the addressee is expected to imitate

[33] See, for example, the anonymous panegyric *Prosfonima* which was presented to Metropolitan Michael on 17 January 1591 during a visit to Lviv, in V. P. Kolosova and V. I. Krekoten', *Ukrajins'ka poezija: Kinec' XVI počatok XVII st.* (Kiev, 1978), especially the text "Ot Starijsÿx," p. 141.
[34] I am indebted to Dr. Paulina Lewin for this information.
[35] See Garrison, *Dryden,* p. 71.

and the audience to admire. The virtue of kindness played a prominent role in this type of oratory. For example, Claudian instructed the emperor Honorius not to fail, above all, in loving kindness if he wished to enjoy the obedience of his subjects.

Exhortations did appear in the *laus regis* of the renaissance panegyric, but they surfaced even more frequently in the oration's overtly didactic sections. The aim was to instruct the ruler on how to secure the trust of his subjects; the very virtues for which he was praised in the *laus regis* were then used to describe the limits of his power. In the *Eucharisterion,* the limitation theme's didactic components are developed faintly at best: only in the poem "Vdjačnost'" of the first cycle is it stated that Mohyla will be regarded as Father, Lord and Master so long as he is kind to his flock. In this sense, the *Eucharisterion* departs from the Renaissance panegyric tradition.[36]

The portrayal of Mohyla as an ideal ruler also touches upon the question of civic duty. As already noted, the pictorial and verbal texts comparing Mohyla and Scaevola attribute civic heroism to the archimandrite. Because of heraldic convention Scaevola certainly presented a convenient model in Mohyla's case. However, the choice of Scaevola may again have been dictated by the panegyric tradition. Compare Claudian: "Horatius Cocles, facing the foe on the broken bridge, Mucius holding his arm in the flame, these shall show thee [Honorius] what, single-handed, brave men can do."[37]

[36] It is interesting to note that in discussing this type of writing M. K. Sarbiewski, in his *De Perfecta Poesi, sive Vergilius et Homerius,* written between 1619 and 1626, mentions only the demonstrative branch and singles out only laudatory topics. He speaks about panegyrics as belonging to the so-called *silvae* and defines them as "short poems . . . which are characterized by a diversity and abundance of themes . . . and which are not very different from orations . . . they do not have such serious values as epic poetry . . . and other poetic writings," ". . . they serve for entertainment rather. They belong to the demonstrative kind [of orations] and have as their subjects living persons or persons who passed away recently." About the proper panegyric Sarbiewski says: "Panegyrics have an outstanding place among the *silvae.* Superior in composing them was the very ingenious poet Claudian. . . . They [as other *silvae*] contain different motifs and praises brought up from different points of view. These are songs performed before a numerous audience or at least they should be appropriate for such a performance. They mostly praise princes or heroes for all of their lives or only some part of their lives." (See the bilingual Latin and Polish edition of his poetics, *O poezji doskonałej,* trans. Marian Plezia and ed. Stanisław Skimina [Wrocław, 1954], pp. 236, 246, 247. I am grateful to Dr. Paulina Lewin for translating these excerpts. As can be deduced from Sarbiewski's recommendations, by the time of the Jesuit Baroque, panegyrics were no longer concerned with the deliberative branch of oratory.

[37] The original reads as follows: "vel solus quid fortis agat, te ponte saluto/oppositus Coecles, Muci te flamma docebit . . ." (*Claudian,* trans. Maurice Platnauer, 2: 316, lines 401–406).

In Claudian, the reference to Scaevola — one of many references to models of civic duty — is a direct instruction to Emperor Honorius. No such thing is done in the *Eucharisterion.* The only direct traditional element of the limitation theme is found in the apostrophe to Phoebus (Apollo), who is enjoined to acknowledge the first victor, Christ. In Claudian, for example, the reference to Apollo is one of many dealing with the restraint exercised by each element in the universe. Even its ruler, the sun (and by antonomasia, the emperor) must respect preordained limits. It is through the observation of these limits that men in authority can save themselves from becoming tyrants and, consequently, from suffering retribution from their subjects.[38] In the *Eucharisterion,* the address to the sun-god does not seek to incommode Mohyla with instructions on how to govern. Instead, it seeks to emphasize that on Mohyla's Parnassus and Helicon pagan knowledge must give way to Christian knowledge. Thus, the *Eucharisterion* applies a traditional motif of the limitation theme to win for the archimandrite the confidence of the Orthodox community, rather than to instruct him on how to rule.

The text attempts not only to portray Mohyla as the *optimus princeps,* but also to acquaint the audience with what can be called the *optima academia.* The attention given to each of the arts in separate poems supports this view. I suggest that another purpose of the *Eucharisterion* was to sketch the ideal curriculum toward which Mohyla and his retinue of scholars were aspiring. For this reason the verse texts of the panegyric, particularly those contained in the cycle "Helykon"," can be viewed as a manifesto of the circle's educational philosophy. It has frequently been argued that the school, as envisaged by Mohyla, sought to emulate Jesuit schools.[39] Yet, given the Jesuits' unenthusiastic attitude toward studies beyond the *trivium* (Grammar,

[38] The excerpt reads as follows: "Seest thou not how the fair frame of the very universe binds itself together by love, and how the elements, not united by violence, are for ever at harmony among themselves? Dost thou not mark how that Phoebus is content not to outstep the limits of his path, nor the sea those of his kingdom, and how the air, which in its eternal embrace encircles and upholds the world, presses not upon us with too heavy a weight nor yet yields to the burden which itself sustains? Whoso causes terror is himself more fearful; such doom befits tyrants. Let them be jealous of another's fame, murder the brave, live hedged about with swords and fenced with poisons, dwelling in a citadel that is ever exposed to danger, and threaten to conceal their fears. Do thou, my son, be at once a citizen and a father, consider not thyself but all men, nor let thine own desires stir thee but thy people's." ("Panegyricus De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti," in *Claudian,* trans. Maurice Platnauer, 1: 308, lines 296–299.)

[39] See, for example, Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy,* pp. 107–112.

Rhetoric, and Dialectic),[40] why is equal footing accorded to the *quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy) in Mohyla's Helicon? Could it be that Mohyla's circle was actually hoping to emulate Cracow's *scholae privatae* (the so-called Szkoły Nowodworskie)? Since the reforms of Mikołaj Dobrocieski in 1603 Cracow scholars had included *quadrivium* studies in their curriculum, and between 1624 and 1634 they had conducted a bitter battle against the Jesuits' attempts to monopolize the educational system in Crown Poland. One apologist, Jan Brożek, argued in 1623 that with the victory of the Jesuit schools in Poland, most of the sciences that served the Commonwealth were in danger of extinction.[41]

Thus, the possibility exists that Mohyla and his circle also saw the need to provide citizens of the Commonwealth with a more universal education than that offered by the Jesuits. At present, however, we cannot go beyond this statement, because a lack of documentation for the early period of Mohyla's school does not permit comparison between the ideal view of the curriculum which, in my opinion, is intimated by the *Eucharisterion* and historical evidence. If the ceremony did in fact convey special educational intentions, this would not have been uncommon for the period. There is an interesting example of precisely this happening in Leiden. J. A. Van Dorsten, in a study dedicated to the Leiden humanists, describes a pageant that took place during the solemn opening ceremony of the University of the Northern Netherlands (8 February 1575), in which "Sacred Scripture," "Justice," "Medicine," and "Pallas," accompanied by "Apollo" and his nine "Muses," recited thirty Latin poems composed by Jan Dousa. Van Dorsten argues convincingly that this pageant contradicts the commonly held belief that the founding fathers of the university had intended to provide the Low Countries with only a school of theology. On the basis of the verses, pageant, and traditions of the period, Van Dorsten concluded that the Leiden humanists had, in effect, also hoped to establish faculties of Law and Medicine, and to restore the

[40] M. Jastrembov argued: "Světskija nauky, — matematika, geografija, istorija, otěčestvennyj jazyk, — ostavalis' v polnom prenebrežnii." See his "Jezuity i ix pedagogičeskaja dějatel'nost' v Pol'šě i Litvě," in *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii,* vol. 2 (Kiev, 1869), p. 267. Also see James Bowen, *A History of Western Education,* 3 vols. (London, 1972–81), 2: 423–31. Bowen indicates that in the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits, mathematics and geography are not discussed in detail, and that they were mainly intended as subjects of study for students who intended to join the society.

[41] See Henryk Barycz, *Historia szkół nowodoworskich,* vol. 1 (Cracow, 1939–47), p. 97; see also pp. 41–46, 85–98, 115–37.

rightful place of the arts for the benefit of the Low Countries. He also explains that these men could not, for various reasons, reveal their intentions explicitly and therefore chose to do so through the pageant and Jan Dousa's poems.[42]

It may, of course, be dangerous to draw parallels between the Leiden and Kiev ceremonies, but the idea that such ceremonies could be used to display intentions "without the stricter commitment of the word"[43] can be important in further study of the *Eucharisterion* and Mohyla's school. Some scholars have relied on the text in attempts to reconstruct the school's actual curriculum in the early years of its existence.[44] It may be safer and more productive to see the *Eucharisterion*'s poems as the expression of a philosophy and a veiled statement of purpose. After all, theology was not taught regularly at Mohyla's school until the latter half of the seventeenth century; moreover, the Polish king, Władysław IV, never granted the school the status of academy, which would have carried the right to teach theology officially. In fact, as early as 1634, under the pressure of Jesuit advocates, he ordered Mohyla to close all "Orthodox Latin schools."[45] In view of the atmosphere and politics of the times, the praise of Theology and of the *quadrivium* subjects in the *Eucharisterion* could well have been a way to announce and publicize the aspirations of Mohyla and his circle for the school.

In summary, I have argued that the *Eucharisterion* is a propagandistic text that documents a ceremony during which, under the pretext of thanking Peter Mohyla for his patronage of an educational establishment, the archimandrite was presented to his contemporaries as a victor, a hero, and a faithful servitor of the Ruthenian nation and the Orthodox community. I have also claimed that the panegyric sought to encourage him to further patronage and to underscore the great respect that Mohyla had won by his achievement; at the same time it served as a rebuttal to his detractors and — perhaps — tried to reconcile the audience with an ambitious and harsh ruler. Finally, I have suggested that the *Eucharisterion* may provide clues about Mohyla's hopes for the new school.

I have set forth a number of hypotheses and raised a number of

[42] J. A. Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden and Oxford, 1962), pp. 1–8.
[43] Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors*, p. 3.
[44] Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy*, p. 28.
[45] Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy*, p. 36.

questions. The *Eucharisterion* and other works like it clearly deserve further study. In the first place, accurate translations would be helpful. Second, it is necessary to analyze the nature of the influences that Polish verse and various literary traditions have exerted on these texts. Insofar as panegyrical literature and the laudatory mode in general was a prominent part of the "system" of Ruthenian culture in the seventeenth century, it should be the object of future studies to relate works like the *Eucharisterion* to a larger pattern of events of that society.[46]

[46] It is important to consider the relationship between the *Eucharisterion* and its chronologically and geographically most immediate predecessors. An obvious example are the funeral verses honoring Hetman Petro Konaševyč Sahajdačnyj, a work composed ten years before the *Eucharisterion* by Počas'kyj's professor, Kasijan Sakovyč. Apart from shedding light on the Kievan milieu that nurtured the young Počas'kyj, such an investigation could give us a better understanding of the didactic impulses of the panegyric. Sakovyč's verses, like the *Eucharisterion,* take advantage of a solemn occasion to praise a prominent man — the deceased hetman — and simultaneously present to the audience (in this case the actual addressee was the Zaporozhian Host) an ideal leader worthy of imitation and, most important, deserving the loyalty of his subjects. As Sakovyč explains in his prologue to the verses recited by his students, the success of the Host's enterprise is dependent on the reciprocal responsibilities of the hetman and his army:

I što sja tut na slavu hetmana pysalo
Petra Konaševyča, na vas sja stjahalo.
Khdy ž hetman ne sam prez" sja, leč vojskom jest slavnyj,
A vojsko tyž hetmanom, dovod to jest javnyj,
Hetman bez" vojska što ž jest, vojsko tyž bez" neho?
Zhola ničoho ne jest' jedyn bez" druhoho.
Reč končačy, tvorcu vas, bohu, polecaju,
Ščaslyvoho zvytjaztva zavše vam žadaju.

The Ruthenian panegyric's exploitation of festive occasions to communicate certain intentions, publicize ideas, or even offer political commentary is also evident in works composed after the *Eucharisterion.* Two panegyrics honoring Mohyla's ascension to the metropolitan see can serve as illustration. The first, *Euphonía veselobrmjačaja,* was presented on 5 July 1633 by the printers of the Caves Monastery. The work celebrates Mohyla's latest distinction, praises his patronage of the monastery's printing-shop, and announces that a Polish-language printing shop has had a successful beginning there. The new institution is seen as a potential source of a variety of books for Mohyla's Parnassus (i.e., school) and hence as an "adornment" of the Ruthenian land. Of course, Mohyla's school, as originally planned, sought to emphasize the instruction of Polish and Latin. Another panegyric, written in Polish (*Mnemosyne Sławy, Prac i Trudow . . . Piotra Mohiły*), dates from the same year and celebrates the new metropolitan's triumphant entrance into Kiev. It was presented by the students of the Brotherhood school but, as expected, printed at the Caves Monastery. It includes thirteen engravings which, like those of the *Eucharisterion,* function as an integral part of the text (eleven of these are emblematic compositions forming the individual letters of Mohyla's name [PIOTR MOHIŁA). Discussion of the various elements of the engravings serves as a point of departure for each poem that follows. In them, Mohyla is depicted as a tireless and successful defender of the Eastern church

Only then will it be possible to answer conclusively what were the underlying motives of the author or authors of the *Eucharisterion* and to what extent they consciously relied on the Renaissance and post-Renaissance panegyric tradition or Jesuit Baroque poetics.[47] It is with this long-term goal in mind that I have undertaken the present study.

The University of Manitoba

before diet meetings and other convocations. *Mnemosyne* suggests that the present restoration under the new monarch, Władysław IV, of the ancestral "freedoms" and "rights" of the Orthodox was made possible by Mohyla's efforts. The panegyric expresses confidence that the king and his "wise" senate will uphold these rights although in the realm there are enemies of the Eastern church.

[47] Many works of earlier Orthodox centers such as Herasym Smotryc'kyj's heraldic verses addressed to Prince Constantine of Ostroh (published in the Ostroh Bible, 1580–1581), the Lviv *Prosfonima* (cf. fn. 33 above) and the well-known texts collected by Rothe (fn. 4 above), Kolosova and Krekoten' (fn. 33 above) also betray the didactic aims, metaphorical patterns and poetic devices characteristic of the *Eucharisterion*. Needless to say, a longer study would also need to take into consideration the Jesuit texts of the period. To cite but two examples: the panegyric presented to Prince Constantine's grandson by the students of the Jaroslav Collegium (Charisterion ob Felicem ac exoptatum Illustrissimi Principis Constantini Ostrogii Ducis, ab Exteribus nationibus fauente caelo in Patriam reditum a Nobili Studiosaque iuuentute Collegis Iaroslaviensis Societatis Iesu darum, Lviv 1615) and the panegyric *Obsequium gratitudinis* by the young Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski presented to Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (1617–1618?) who founded a Jesuit school in Kroże of Żmudź. The latter is of particular interest because, as Professor Wiktor Weintraub has kindly pointed out to me, it contains a typically Jesuit predilection for mixing classical and Christian imagery much as do the *Eucharisterion* and other Ruthenian texts. It might be noted that in Sarbiewski's panegyric Apollo, Calliope, and other allegorical figures also erect a symbolic mount in honor of Chodkiewicz.

Cf. Professor Ihor Ševčenko's article, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla," in this issue, pp. 9–44, especially pp. 26–31.

Theology at the Kiev Academy During Its Golden Age

JAMES CRACRAFT

> "Koliko bo mužej soveršennŷx
> Proyzvedet ty dom učenyj!"
> Feofan Prokopovyč (attr.),
> *Vladymyr,* 1705

While its foundations may be traced to the year 1615, if not to an earlier date, the institution commonly called the Kiev Academy can be said to have flourished from the 1680s, when among other favorable developments theology began to be regularly taught. Thereafter, as is well known, the academy quickly became the leading center of higher studies in the Slavic-Orthodox world, thus playing, in generally bleak circumstances, a unique historical role. Then, starting about 1750, the academy entered a period of rapid relative decline: a decline that may be attributed, above all else, to the collapse of the Ukrainian national movement of early modern times. For the academy's "golden age" had followed hard on the emergence of a strong Ukrainian Hetmanate, and owed much to the protection and financial support of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (ruled 1687–1709), in particular. Nor is it a coincidence that the Ukraine's steady reduction in the eighteenth century to the status of a Russian imperial province brought with it a commensurate reduction in the status of its leading educational institution.

After 1819 a reorganized Kiev Academy served as one of the three or four principal centers of Orthodox learning in the Russian Empire — effectively, in the world — until the revolutions, dislocations, and destructions of the years after 1917. The later decades of this period saw the appearance of several major works devoted to the Kiev Academy during its earlier "golden age" which in both comprehensiveness and detail remain unsurpassed. The following remarks are based

primarily on data to be found in these works.[1] Yet before proceeding it might be noted that the cultural and archival heritage of the Kiev Academy, like its physical plant, continue to be neglected by the Soviet authorities. In fact, owing to the constraints and outright denial of access imposed on scholars working in the Soviet Union (which we from the West perhaps too often tolerate in silence), it remains impossible to discuss the practice of theology at the Kiev Academy during its golden age in more than cursory fashion. This is a matter of particular regret, for several reasons, the chief of them being the undoubted historical importance of the subject. Indeed, the development of theology at the Kiev Academy during these years, in the words of a recent study, gave birth to the "esprit académique" itself — and not alone in Kiev or in the Ukraine, but in Russia as well:

> Certes, les écrits théologiques des maîtres de Kiev étaient fortement marqués par la scholastique et leur orientation était surtout polémique. La forme y prédominait sur le contenu et la théologie avait tendance à s'y développer dans un sens quantitatif plus que qualitatif. Le poids de l'argumentation y dépendait du nombre des arguments avancés, de leur finesse, de la quantité des syllogismes et de la rigueur formelle de leur construction. Cette rhétorique engendrait chez ces théologiens une prédilection abusive pour les jeux de mots, les figures de style, les allégories, des interprétations forcées, amenées parfois de façon subjective. L'orthodoxie des écrits de Kiev était nettement sujette à caution. Mais la scholastique de Kiev forgea une pensée claire et disciplinée. Elle obligeait à définir et à justifier. Elle ne rejetait pas en bloc tout ce qui venait de l'Occident et ne prenait pas devant la science occidentale une attitude d'effroi ou de dédain. Elle incitait les théologiens orthodoxes à utiliser pour leur compte tout ce que la pensée occidentale pouvait avoir de meilleur. C'était en définitive la naissance de l'esprit académique.[2]

To be sure, this relatively generous appraisal of the historical importance of Kiev theology has not been widely shared, and particularly not by exponents and heirs of the Russian Orthodox schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most notably, the late Georges Florovsky, in his celebrated study of the development of theology among the Eastern Slavs, had this to say about the encoun-

[1] N. (I). Petrov, *Kievskaja akademija vo vtoroj polovine XVII veka* (Kiev, 1895); S. (T.) Golubev, *Kievskaja akademija v konce XVII i načale XVIII stoletii* (Kiev, 1901); D. Višnevskij, *Kievskaja akademija v pervoj polovine XVIII stoletija* (Kiev, 1903); N. (I.) Petrov, ed., *Akty i dokumenty otnosjaščiesja k istorii Kievskoj akademii*, vol. 1 (Kiev and St. Petersburg, 1904).

[2] A. Kniazeff, *L'Institut Saint-Serge: De l'Académie d'autrefois au rayonnement d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1974), pp. 13–14.

ter of East and West at Kiev and the emergence therefrom of a specifically "Kievan learning":

> An academic tradition was formed, a school grew up, but a spiritual and creative movement did not arise. What came forth was an imitative and provincial scholasticism, precisely a "theology of the school," *theologia scholastica*. This did signify a certain step forward in religious-cultural consciousness. At the same time, however, theology was torn from its living roots. An unhealthy and dangerous split developed between thought and experience. The outlook of the Kievans was broad enough, the link with Europe was quite lively, and news of the latest movements and strivings in the West came easily to Kiev. Still, there was something foredoomed in all this activity. It was a pseudomorphosis of religious consciousness, a pseudomorphosis of Orthodox thought.[3]

Yet in thus appraising Kiev theology from a religious (believer's) point of view, Fr. Florovsky did not deny its "undoubted significance from the cultural-historical standpoint."[3] And it is on this point that I would wish to expand now, however briefly, having made it clear, I trust, that until literally hundreds of manuscript works on deposit in Kiev and elsewhere in the Soviet Union have been gone through, nothing definitive can be said about the teaching of theology at the Kiev Academy during its golden age.

The introduction of a regular theology course at Kiev signaled the completion of an educational revolution in the Ukraine that had been underway for a century or more.[4] The standard classical curriculum of medieval Europe, revived and reorganized in the Renaissance and spread throughout the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the efforts especially of the Jesuit order, had appeared in Kiev as early as 1627, the work above all of Peter Mohyla. Mohyla founded a school along Jesuit lines in the famous Kiev Monastery of the Caves (*Pečers'ka lavra*), of which he was head. The school was then merged, around 1631, after Mohyla had become metropolitan of Kiev, with the somewhat older school located in the local Brotherhood Monastery of the Epiphany (*Bohojavlens'ke bratstvo*). The curriculum of the combined school — known to us as the Kiev Academy — was

[3] G. Florovskij, *Puti russkago bogoslovija* (Paris, 1937), p. 56.

[4] In addition to the works cited in fn. 1 above, see W. K. Medlin and C. G. Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia: Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education (16th–17th Centuries)* (Geneva, 1971), pp. 99 ff., valuable for its many references; and, for further details, A. Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1977), chaps. 2 and 5.

to have culminated in several years of philosophy and theology, in the manner of the Jesuit and other colleges of contemporary Europe. Indeed a full theology course appears to have been taught at Kiev, under Mohyla's patronage, between 1642 and 1646. His death (1647) and events of the period of "the Ruin" in the Ukraine (1657–1687) brought the academy's development to a standstill. But we notice that already in its initial phase theology was the recognized apex of the academy's course of study. We should note, too, that it was only for lack of proper accreditation (in the form of a charter from King Władysław IV) and, still more, of qualified teachers that instruction in theology was not institutionalized at Kiev before the onset of the Cossack wars.

The emergence of the Hetmanate of eastern or Left-Bank Ukraine (as mentioned), the continued economic and demographic growth of Kiev, and the extension of Muscovite protection, but not yet of Muscovite control, to the city and its academy: these if not other developments, in Poland and beyond, conditioned the academy's revival in the 1680s and its subsequent rise to a position of international renown. More particularly, between 1689 and 1751 a theology course, usually of four years' duration, was taught at the Kiev Academy by some sixteen scholars in succession, all evidently Ukrainians who had been educated first at the academy itself and then in the leading colleges and academies of Catholic Europe.[5] The titles of the various courses are indicative of their contents: "Tractatus theologiae scholasticae et controversae"; "Theologia theoretica de Deo uno et triuno, commentariis et disputationibus scholasticis illustrata"; "Theologia scholastica de Deo . . . de incarnatione Verbi Divini, de angelis . . . de nomine juris et legis aeterni naturalis divini Veteris et novi Testamenti . . . de sacramentis"; etc. The language of the discipline naturally was Latin, the principal language of instruction at the academy; and the method of teaching as well as the basic plan of the courses were clearly scholastic. Moreover, in both their language, or terminology, and their structure these theology courses proceeded

[5] In addition to the relevant parts of the works listed in fn. 1 above, see M. P. Bulgakov (Metropolitan Makarij), *Istorija Kievskoj akademii* (St. Petersburg, 1843), pp. 61–63, 69–74, 77–82, 136–44, 158–60, 164–65; and A. Palmieri, *Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa,* 2 vols. (Florence, 1911–13), 1: 152–59. N. (I.) Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisej cerkovno-arxeologičeskogo muzeja pri Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii,* 3 vols. in 1 (1875–79), lists numerous theological works of the period, evidently courses or parts or excerpts or copies thereof; see also idem, *Opisanie rukopisnyx sobranii naxodjaščixsja v gorode Kieve,* 3 vols. (Moscow, 1892–1904), passim, for some 100 manuscripts of interest in this connection.

directly from the immediately precedent courses in philosophy taught at the academy — taught, it often happened, by the same teachers to, roughly, the same students. Indeed there is evidence that the philosophy course, usually of three years' duration, was viewed at Kiev (as it was elsewhere) primarily as an introduction to theology.[6] Thus the very nature of the academy's higher curriculum, at once integrated and scholastic, defeats recent attempts to study, in isolation and from a "materialist" viewpoint, the various philosophy lectures given at Kiev in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[7]

Inevitably, the scholastic language, form, and even content of Kiev theology tended to be eyed with the greatest suspicion by contemporary Greek and Russian church leaders.[8] But it might be noted that such an attitude was in part a matter of ignorance, in part the normal reaction of established authority to innovative ideas. Nor was the influence of Thomas Aquinas as dominant at Kiev as has been asserted. Rather, it is fair to say, from what details we have of the courses offered and from related documentary evidence, that like their counterparts elsewhere in the contemporary European world, Kiev theologians drew on a wide range of medieval and later authorities. These included, apart from Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), both the ample Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) and the more rigorous Tirso González (1624–1705), and especially one Tomasz Młodzianowski, a prominent Polish Jesuit whose *Praelectiones Philosophicae* and *Praelectiones Theologicae,* published at Cracow and elsewhere in the 1670s and 1680s, seem to have been a major influence at Kiev in the earlier eighteenth century.[9] Kiev theologians were both freer or more eclectic in their choice of authorities than is often supposed as well as up-to-date.

[6] Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy,* pp. 125–29.

[7] See successive issues, beginning in 1970, of *Filosofs'ka dumka* (organ of the Institute of Philosophy of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences); the three-volume edition of *Filosofs'ki tvory* attributed to Feofan Prokopovyč that was published in Kiev, 1979–81; and V. M. Ničik, *Feofan Prokopovič* (Moscow, 1977), a putative intellectual biography which ignores entirely the extensive theological lectures attributed to its subject. Z. I. Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (Kiev, 1970), is a similarly limited (as well as essentially popular) work.

[8] Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy,* especially pp. 146–50; G. A. Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, Mass., 1976), pp. 33 ff.; J. Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great* (Stanford, 1971), pp. 122–26; and L. Lewitter, "Poland, the Ukraine, and Russia in the 17th Century," *Slavonic and East European Review* 27 (December 1948): 157–71, and 27 (May 1949): 414–29, passim.

[9] F. Greniuk, *Tomasz Młodzianowski, teolog-moralista* (Lublin, 1974).

It is true that the influence of Młodzianowski in Kiev points to the fact that in preparing their lectures the academy's theologians relied heavily on textbooks compiled in the West. It is equally true that for Orthodox scholars this practice led to such anomalies as their citing definitions of the Council of Trent, the views more often of Western rather than Eastern church fathers, and incidents from Roman Catholic, rather than their own, church history. But again, too much should not be made of this. In the first place, it was precisely the "age of the compendia," theologically speaking, in both East and West.[10] Second, the canon law and the moral and pastoral — or casuistic —theology that normally formed part of the theology course at contemporary Roman Catholic schools found no place at Kiev. And third, there is evidence that from early on in the period Kiev theologians sought either to eliminate or to combat specifically Roman Catholic teaching on such crucial matters of faith as the procession of the Holy Spirit, where Kievans did not hesitate to call the Catholic position heretical and schismatic. For the modern theologians most often cited at Kiev were masters of controversy, and their manuals were, accordingly, ready sources of the most divergent views. The age was also one of extended, and detailed, theological polemic.

Fully half of Stefan Javors'kyj's course, only the second to be taught at Kiev (1693–1697), was devoted to controversial theology (*theologia controversa*), where he was concerned to assert, albeit in scholastic language, an Orthodox position on the nature of the Trinity and of the church. Javors'kyj's example in this was followed by his immediate successor in the theology chair at Kiev. Moreover Javors'kyj himself went on to write a more general work that drew heavily on the *Controversies* of Cardinal Bellarmine, it is true, but whose purpose it was to defend traditional Orthodox beliefs and practices against Protestant criticisms and innovations.[11] And polemics against the "Latins" were a conspicuous feature of the theology course usually ascribed to Feofan Prokopovyč, which came fifth in succession at the Kiev Academy (1710 or 1711 to 1716). Later scholars have detected a "Protestant" cast to these lectures (compare the "Catholic" cast of those attributed to Javors'kyj). Yet it was Prokopovyč who laid down, in the "Ecclesiastical Regulation" first promulgated in 1721,

[10] Quoting Maloney, *History*, p. 169 — which refers only to the East.
[11] See I. Morev, ed., *"Kamen' very" Mitropolita Stefana Javorskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1904), and Morev's "Mitropolit Stefan Javorskij v bor'be s protestantskim idejami svoego vremeni," *Xristjanskoe čtenie,* 1905, no. 1, pp. 254–65.

that "while a teacher [of theology] may seek assistance from modern authors of other faiths, he must not imitate them and give credence to their expositions, but only accept their guidance in the arguments they employ from Scripture and from the Fathers, particularly as regards those dogmas wherein other faiths agree with us." Nor were such arguments to be "credited lightly," nor ever anything but carefully examined; for "a teacher of theology must not teach according to foreign expositions, but in accordance with his own understanding."[12]

More broadly, it deserves emphasizing that in the establishment and early development of theology at Kiev, dependence on Roman Catholic and especially Polish Jesuit authorities was as good as inevitable. The earlier foundation and geographical proximity of the Polish colleges and academies, with their settled theological tradition, on the one hand, and the comparative educational and theological impoverishment of the Orthodox East,[13] on the other, meant that Kievans aspiring to study theology had little practical choice. They went to Vilnius, Poznań, or Cracow or, for further and better training, to Prague or Olomouc, even Paris or Rome; whence one returned "consummatus theologus" and ready to teach as one had been taught. And the aspiration to theology, it might also be stressed, was entirely natural. Theology — Latin, scholastic theology — was the natural summit of the course of studies introduced at Kiev in the 1630s; and it was mainly owing to external circumstances, as mentioned, that its achievement was permanently realized only from 1689.[14] Theology

[12] *Duxovnyj reglament,* ed. P. V. Verxovskoj, in *Učreždenie Duxovnoj koliegii i Duxovnyj reglament,* 2 vols. (Rostov-on-Don, 1916), 2: 55. For details about the theology courses attributed to Javors'kyj and to Prokopovyč, see, in addition to works cited in fns. 1, 4, and 5 above, Ju. Samarin, *Stefan Javorskij i Feofan Prokopovič* (Moscow, 1880); A. Lappo-Danilevskij, "L'idée de l'état et son évolution en Russie depuis les troubles du XVII^e siècle jusqu'aux réformes du XVIII^e," in P. Vinogradoff, ed., *Essays in Legal History* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 362–64 (Javors'kyj); A. V. Karteshev, "Byl li pravoslavnym Feofan Prokopovič?" in *Sbornik v čest' D. F. Kobenko* (St. Petersburg, 1913); R. Stupperich, "F. Prokopovičs theologische Bestrebungen," *Kyrios* 4 (1936): 350–62; Florovskij, *Puti,* pp. 89–97; and H.-J. Härtel, *Byzantinisches Erbe und Orthodoxie bei Feofan Prokopovič* (Würzburg, 1970).

[13] Cf. Florovskij, *Puti,* pp. 1 ff.; T. Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, 1963), chap. 5 (see especially p. 109); Maloney, *History,* pp. 169 ff.; N. Zernov, *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (London, 1961), chap. 5; P. N. Trembelas, *Dogmatique de l'église orthodoxe catholique,* trans. P. Dumont, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1966–67), 1: 66–68, 76 ff.: the judgment is unanimous.

[14] See further Metropolitan Ilarion, *Ukrajins'ka cerkva za čas rujiny (1657–1687)* (Winnipeg, 1956), with extensive bibliography.

seen as the ultimate science, as the systematic investigation of the content of belief by means of reason enlightened by faith (*fides quaerens intellectum*), was as necessary to the intellectually maturing Orthodox church of the Ukraine and then of Russia as it had been to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation churches of the West.

Indeed, as the seventeenth century progressed, it became urgently necessary. If the Eastern church in general had been caught intellectually unprepared by the controversies of the Western Reformations, the dilemma was particularly to be felt in the divided Ukraine, where Orthodox and Catholic (or Protestant) confronted one another and where, perhaps even more than in the West, one's religion identified one. Religiously as in other ways the Ukraine was a frontier land particularly exposed to the cross-currents of controversy and a land where, accordingly, one's faith stood in special need of definition. Elsewhere in the Orthodox world the solution had been to adopt the weapons — the language and even the concepts — of the adversary, as in the well-known case of Cyril Lukaris (1572–1638), sometime patriarch of Constantinople. Lukaris opposed Roman Catholic teaching by employing the theories of Calvin, as in the doctrine of predestination expounded in Lukaris's *Confession of Faith,* which was then refuted by Patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem (1669–1707), who in turn drew heavily on Catholic sources.[15] It was to refute Lukaris that Peter Mohyla drew up his famous *Orthodox Confession,* which was repeatedly published under official church auspices after its initial appearance in 1640 and which has been taken to mark, in fact, the beginnings of modern Orthodox dogmatic theology.[16]

Yet, obviously more was needed in the struggle to assert religious identity than an occasional statement of faith, intelligible only to the initiated. The introduction of a regular theology course at Kiev had awaited educational advancement in Orthodox Ukraine and the training of appropriate teachers, certainly. But it had also depended on a drastic improvement in the academy's material position and on the active encouragement of the political authorities. These came only

[15] Ware, *Orthodox Church,* pp. 106–109; see also the collection of documents, anonymously edited in sympathy with Lukaris, published in Amsterdam in 1718: *Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar . . . et sa Confession de Foi . . . [with the proceedings of the] Concile de Jerusalem tenu contre lui. . . .*

[16] Cf. Makarij (Archbishop of Kazan'), *Pravoslavno-dogmatičeskoe bogoslovie,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1868), 1: 55–63; also Kniazeff, *L'Institut Saint-Serge.* For the *Confession* and its Catholic sources, see A. Malvy and M. Viller, "La confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila," *Orientalia christiana,* vol. 10 (1927).

after the end of Polish dominance. The flowering of the Kiev Academy with theology the crown of its curriculum was indicative, it may be repeated, of a surgence of national as well as religious feeling. Even the theology courses in question reflect an awareness by their authors of being both Orthodox and, as their conceit would have it, "Roxolani." The latter evoked, of course, the ancient warrior people described by certain classical authors, and thus served to distinguish the Kievans from their Polish rivals and sometime mentors, the would-be "Sarmatians."

So the general features of the theology courses taught at Kiev between 1689 and 1751 were these: (1) their scholastic character, as seen not only in their language, overall plan, and method, including especially formal disputation, but also in their content, in the very questions posed and answered; (2) a continual and, as time went on, growing effort to preserve, define, or assert specifically Orthodox doctrines — an effort in which the Kievans did not by later standards always succeed, as witness their formulations of the doctrine of the Eucharist, which in general remained indistinguishable from Roman Catholic teaching; and (3) the tendency of successive teachers at Kiev, more noticeably from the 1720s onwards, to follow with only minor variations the work of their predecessors, which was regarded as having proved adequate to the task at hand, perhaps, rather than incapable of being improved upon. Whatever the reason, Kiev theology in these years did not exhibit any very striking independence of thought or otherwise contribute lastingly to theology as such. Its historical significance is to be found elsewhere.

It is to be found, mainly, in the breakthrough to formal, systematic, academic theology which the Kievans' work represented for the Slavic-Orthodox world, with all that this implied for the intellectual and spiritual development of the Ukraine and Russia in particular. Figures are hard to come by here. But it is reasonable to estimate that in the decades under review hundreds of theology graduates left the Kiev Academy to become teachers themselves, heads of monasteries, and/or bishops of the "All-Russian" church, which Kievans were to dominate until the late eighteenth century. Until that time, too, the curriculum of the Kiev Academy with theology at its summit served as the basic model for the higher schools of the Russian Empire, most notably for the Moscow and St. Petersburg ecclesiastical academies. By 1750 some twenty-six diocesan colleges had been founded by

Kievans themselves or by their pupils, seven with a theology form.[17] And while it is difficult to link the Kiev theology of this era with the later flowering of Orthodox theology in Russia, which arose in some degree in reaction to what was perceived as Kiev's excessive Western orientation, historically the successes of a new day do not negate those of the old. It remains a fact that Orthodox Ukrainians and Orthodox Russians in any significant numbers first learned to think, theologically and academically, at Kiev.

The extent of this debt began to be demonstrated by the historians on whose works these remarks are primarily based. If only their detailed researches, for so long interrupted, might be resumed.

University of Illinois, Chicago

[17] K. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan', 1914), remains the standard work on the subject; but see also, more particularly, and for further references, M. J. Okenfuss, "The Jesuit Origins of Petrine Education," in J. G. Garrard, ed., *The Eighteenth Century in Russia* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 106–130 (by "Jesuit" Okenfuss means "Kievan," whose "origins" in turn were of course not only Jesuit but, notably, Piarist; and by "Petrine education" is meant the Moscow and St. Petersburg academies as well as the diocesan colleges just mentioned, not the technical schools and other educational experiments supported by Peter I).

The Kiev Mohyla Academy and the Hetmanate

GEORGE GAJECKY

From the beginning of its existence, the Kiev Mohyla Collegium (later Academy)[1] was closely tied with the Ukrainian Cossacks, especially its officer class. It relied upon the Zaporozhian Cossacks and later upon the ruling elite of the Hetmanate for financial support and protection. In turn, the Cossacks expected the school to educate their sons for administrative careers in the various institutions of the Hetmanate and for membership in the clerical elite of the new Cossack state. As it turned out, the clerical intellectuals grouped around the Kiev Mohyla Academy only partly fulfilled the expectations of the Cossack officer class, since they did not become the intellectual leaders of the new Ukrainian state, the Cossack Hetmanate.

From its inception as the school of the *Bohoiavlens'ke Bratstvo* (Brotherhood of the Epiphany), the educational institution depended greatly on Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi (1616–1622) for material and moral support and for protection from the Polish authorities. Sahaidachnyi contributed large sums of money from the Zaporozhian treasury for the school's upkeep and development. He also enrolled the whole Zaporozhian Host as members of the Brotherhood and kept a garrison of Cossacks in Kiev to discourage attacks on the school by the hostile local administration.[2] In his will he left a substantial bequest to the school. Thus Hetman Sahaidachnyi set a precedent of granting aid and protection to the school that would be followed by subsequent hetmans.

The alliance between the Cossacks and the clerical intellectuals was further strengthened by the protection Sahaidachnyi provided during

[1] The school of higher education known as the Mohyla Academy in Kiev went through several reorganizations through its two centuries of existence. For clarity I consider the different schools from 1615 to 1819 to be the same unit and refer to it as the Kiev Mohyla Collegium or Academy throughout this paper.

[2] Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy,* 10 vols. (New York, 1955), 7:412–13.

the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620. His actions were applauded by the first three rectors of the school, Borets'kyi, Smotryts'kyi, and Sakovych, who called the Cossacks descendants of Japheth and of the warriors of the Rus' monarch Oleh, and defenders of the Orthodox faith from the time of Volodimer. When Sahaidachnyi died in 1622, the school honored its protector and benefactor with recitations of verses at a special ceremony.[3]

One of Sahaidachnyi's successors as hetman, Ivan Kulaha-Petrazhyts'kyi, supported the bid of the new metropolitan, Peter Mohyla, to gain office. The hetman approved, in 1632, the fusion of the Brotherhood school with the Lavra school to form the Mohyla Collegium of Kiev. The Cossacks gave approbation to the new institution in an important charter, which also pledged their support.[4]

Subsequently, this coalition of Cossacks and Orthodox educators did not last. Mohyla and his circle depended upon the good will of the Polish Crown and they advanced their claims through the legitimate Ukrainian (Ruthenian) representatives of the Polish Diet: Kysil', Drevyns'kyi, Chetvertyns'kyi, Stetkevych, and others. Simultaneously, the Cossacks were engaged in a series of conflicts with the Polish government. The revolts of Sulyma, Pavliuk, and Ostrianyn were unsuccessful. Cossack registers were reduced and their influence declined, since the central Polish authorities had no further need of them. Soon the Cossacks were abandoned by the clerical intellectuals and even vilified for their uprisings. In 1641, the rector of the Mohyla collegium, Ihnat Oksenovych-Starushych, called them "rabid dogs who bite their masters."[5]

During the 1640s, however, a large group of students with a Cossack background attended the Kiev Collegium. They were to become influential during the rule of Khmel'nyts'kyi and during the tenures of his immediate successors. The students included the future hetmans Ivan Vyhovs'kyi (1657–1659), Ivan Samoilovych (1672–1687) and Pavlo Teteria (1663–1665). Others became members of the General Staff: Fedir Loboda, Tymish Nosach, Ivan Cherniata, Ivan Kravchenko, Semen Tretiak, Ivan Hrusha. Their classmates also included

[3] Kasiian Sakovych, "Virshi na zhalosnyi pohreb zatsnoho rytsera Petra Konashevycha-Sahaidachnoho," in *Ukrains'ka poeziia kinets' XVI–pochatok XVII v.*, ed. V. Kolosova and V. Krekoten' (Kiev, 1978), pp. 322–38.

[4] *Pamiatniki izdannye Kievskoi vremennoi kommissiei,* 4 vols., 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Kiev, 1898), pp. 421–22. Hereafter cited as *PKK.*

[5] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia,* 8, pt. 2:114–15. Panegyric to Illia Chetvertyns'kyi who died fighting the Cossacks.

the later churchmen and writers Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi, Varlaam Iasyns'kyi, Feodosii Safonovych, Antonii Radyvylovs'kyi, Epifanii Slavynets'kyi, Havryil Domets'kyi, Damaskyn Ptyts'kyi, Ihnatii Ievlevych, Arsenii Satanovs'kyi and even the Muscovite Iakim Savelev (later Patriarch Adrian of Moscow).[6] Under the tutelage of such teachers and rectors as Innokentii Gizel' and Iosyf Horbats'kyi, they obtained a good preparatory education which helped launch their future careers.

The hetmancy of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (1648–1657) brought the relations between the Mohyla Collegium and the Cossack administration into sharp focus. Khmel'nyts'kyi established the custom of granting lands, cash, and special privileges for the upkeep of the collegium. The land grants that he made became the nucleus of donations by subsequent Cossack hetmans and officers, whose generosity was to maintain the school during the next century and a half.

For the upkeep of the collegium Khmel'nyts'kyi gave the rector Lazar Baranovych the following villages with mills, meadowlands, and fish ponds: Ksavery, Plisnes'ke, Chornohorod'ka, Sarnovychi and Obukhiv near Kiev, Bazar near Fastiv, and Mukhoidy in Polissia.[7] He also gave the Brotherhood (*Brats'kyi*) Monastery, which was overseeing the collegium, special permission to brew whiskey and mead, with proceeds to be used for the collegium's maintenance. In doing so it was noted that he followed his "famous predecessor, Hetman Sahaidachnyi, who also succored the monastery."[8] Furthermore, the hetman sent his son, Iurii, to study at the Mohyla school. Besides endowing the collegium Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi included guarantees of its status and existence in two treaties he negotiated with the Poles. In the Treaty of Zboriv of 1649, which recognized the existence of the new Cossack state, the collegium was protected by Clause X: "All schools that exist in territories from former times are to continue."[9] After the disastrous battle of Berestechko, Khmel'nyts'kyi managed to secure the Bila Tserkva Agreement (1651); in its Clause VI "The Kiev Collegium is

[6] V. Askochenskii, *Kiev s drevneishim ego uchilishchem Akademieiu,* 2 vols. (Kiev, 1856), 1:173; M. Markovskii, "Antonii Radivilowskii, iuzhno-russkii propovednik 17 v.," *Universitetskie izvestiia* (Kiev), 1894, nos. 4, 7, 10, pp. 1–118; 1895, nos. 9, 11, 12, pp. 119–187, 1–86.

[7] *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho,* ed. Ivan Kryp"iakevych and Ivan Butych (Kiev, 1961), doc. 349, dated 9 January 1656 (pp. 467–68). Hereafter cited as *Dokumenty.*

[8] *Dokumenty,* doc. 322, dated 18 June 1655 (p. 436), and doc. 348, dated 9 January 1656 (p. 467).

[9] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia,* 8, pt. 3:216.

assured continuing and free existence."[10] Khmel'nyts'kyi's efforts were appreciated by the collegium's faculty, especially in the early years of his hetmancy. Upon his return from Zamość in December 1648, "Cantos of Liberation" were composed and read in his honor by students in Kiev. Khmel'nyts'kyi was hailed as "Moses, deliverer, savior, liberator of the people from the Polish bondage and well-named Bohdan, given by God."[11] More panegyrics were delivered after the Treaty of Zboriv and upon the hetman's death in 1657.[12]

Khmel'nyts'kyi freed eastern Ukraine from Polish rule, made Orthodoxy the state religion, liberally dispensed largesse to various monasteries, built several churches in his capital city of Chyhyryn and at his homestead of Subotiv, supported the Kiev Mohyla Collegium, and made a valiant effort to obtain for the Orthodox metropolitan Sylvester Kossov a senator's post in the Polish Diet. It would seem, then, that Khmel'nyts'kyi enjoyed excellent relations with the clerical intellectuals in Kiev. But in fact there was an ambiguity in the latter's behavior and attitude toward the hetman and his administration. Metropolitan Kossov was a legitimist in the Mohyla tradition. Along with Gizel' and with Baranovych, rector of the collegium during most of Khmel'nyts'kyi's hetmancy, Kossov preferred to deal with the palatine Adam Kysil' rather than with Khmel'nyts'kyi or the Cossack administration in Kiev. A cause of some rancor was that monastery peasants, who had left their lands during the Cossacks' violent social upheaval, upon returning from the war did not want to resume work on monastery lands. Also, in 1648–49 no classes were held at the collegium, since many pupils and some monks left to join Khmel'nyts'kyi's army.[13] The ambivalent position of the Orthodox clerical elite became apparent during the invasion of the Lithuanian army led by Radziwiłł and the capture of Kiev in 1651. The city was looted and partially burned; the Brotherhood Monastery was destroyed, although the collegium itself survived.[14] The conduct of the metropolitan and his circle during this period troubled Khmel'nyts'kyi; for it was rumored

[10] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia,* 9, pt. 1:366.

[11] "Diariusz drogi do Wojska Zaporowskiego . . . 1649," by Wojciech Miaskowski, *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei,* vol. 2 (Moscow, 1954), p. 109.

[12] V. Peretss, "K istorii Kievo-Mogilianskoi kollegii," *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora Letopistsa* 14 (1900):7–25; also a manuscript of a panegyric of 1650 to Khmel'nyts'kyi found in the Raczyński Library by Professor Frank E. Sysyn.

[13] Askochenskii, *Kiev,* 1:177.

[14] N. Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka* (Kiev, 1895), p. 25.

that the clerics opened the gates of Kiev to the Lithuanians. Kossov's warm reception of Radziwiłł reinforced the rumor. Relations between the clerical intellectuals and Khmel'nyts'kyi worsened after the signing of the Treaty of Pereiaslav with Moscow in 1654. The Kiev metropolitan rightly foresaw that the consequences of Pereiaslav would be disastrous for the autonomy of the Ukrainian Orthodox church. At first Kossov and his followers refused to swear allegiance to the tsar, which all groups were instructed to do. Only strong measures by the Muscovite *voevoda* and the Cossack hetman broke their resolve. Khmel'nyts'kyi viewed these procrastinations as interference in his foreign policy and dealt sharply with the meddling hierarchy.

Relations continued to be uneasy during the rule of Khmel'nyts'kyi's successors and especially during the *Ruina* period, even though the Cossack hetmans continued to make new land grants and to support the Kiev Collegium. The hetmancy of Ivan Vyhovs'kyi (1657–59) illustrates the situation. Vyhovs'kyi, a graduate of the Mohyla Collegium, had many friends among the clerical intellectuals, including the rector Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi and the new metropolitan, Dionisii Balaban. Vyhovs'kyi nullified the Pereiaslav treaty to the clerics' satisfaction by destroying a Muscovite army at Konotop, and by concluding the Treaty of Hadiach with Poland, whereby the Ukraine was to become a partner in a triune state. Two provisions of the new treaty dealt with the status of the Kiev Mohyla Collegium: (a) "The Academy in Kiev is to become equal with the Cracow Academy," and (b) "another academy is to be organized in another Ukrainian city with the same rights as the Kiev Academy." Preparatory schools and other educational institutions were also to be organized.[15]

Vyhovs'kyi's policy was appreciated by Balaban. But in 1658, during the subsequent fighting to expel the Russian garrison in Kiev, the buildings which housed the collegium were burned by Cossack artillery. This angered and embittered many clerics, among them the rector Galiatovs'kyi, who resigned in protest.[16] The destruction of 1658 was only the beginning of the collegium's tribulations over the next twenty years, the time of "the Ruin." In 1661, Innokentii Gizel' complained to the tsar about the destruction of church property and

[15] Askochenskii, *Kiev*, 1:185, and Mykola Stadnyk, "Hadiats'ka uniia," *Zapysky Ukrains'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyievi* 7 (1910):65–85; 8 (1911):5–39. The pertinent data are found on pages 32–33.

[16] Konstantyn Bida, *Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi i ioho "Kliuch razumeniia"* (Rome, 1975), p. vi; Askochenskii, *Kiev*, 1:187.

the loss of life perpetrated by Muscovite troops.[17] During the invasion of the Left-Bank Ukraine by Poles in 1664, the collegium was burned again. Four years later, when Hetman Ivan Briukhovets'kyi (1663–1668) was expelling Muscovites from the Hetmanate, the collegium was plundered by the Muscovites and its students were dispersed.[18] In 1671, marauding Polish mercenaries under Colonel Pyvo destroyed the village of Novosilky,[19] which belonged to the collegium. Several other villages near Fastiv were lost by the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667), which divided the Hetmanate into Russian and Polish spheres of influence and deprived the collegium of its revenues from the Right-Bank Ukraine. The Muscovite voevodas who were stationed in Kiev interfered in the internal affairs of the collegium and forbade the attendance of any students from the Right-Bank Ukraine.

The depredations of various armies, constant warfare, frequent change in hetmans, and general instability disheartened many of Mohyla's disciples, who blamed the Cossack administration for this state of affairs. "It was a time when men were running away or waiting for death," wrote Galiatovs'kyi in his *Kliuch razumeniia.*[20] Brilliant individuals like Gizel', Baranovych, Galiatovs'kyi, Radyvylovs'kyi and Iasyns'kyi, who had produced voluminous tracts, apologetics, polemics, and poetry, turned away from the Cossack state. They started to look to Moscow and to the Russian tsar for a permanent resolution of the situation in the Cossack state, and they encouraged graduates of the Kiev Collegium to accept administrative posts in Muscovy and clerical ones in the Russian church.

Throughout its darkest period, the collegium relied on the financial support of the hetman and of the Cossack administration in Kiev. It was always forthcoming, even if not in the same measure as the generosity of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. After the destruction of 1658, the colonel of Kiev, Pavlo Ianenko Khmel'nyts'kyi (1657–1658), and his successor, Vasyl' Dvorets'kyi (1659–1668), donated two dozen buildings and city lots as income property for the Brotherhood Monastery.[21] Hetman Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi (1659–1663), a former student, confiscated the properties in Kiev of his predecessor Vyhovs'kyi and gave them to the monastery.[22] Hetman Petro Doroshenko (1665–1676)

17 Bida, *Galiatovs'kyi,* pp. vi–vii.
18 Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia,* p. 29.
19 Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia,* p. 35.
20 Bida, *Galiatovs'kyi,* p. vii.
21 *PKK,* 2:449–51. Dvorets'kyi's decree of 3 May 1659.
22 *PKK,* 2:473–88. All grants from 1655 to 1694 are enumerated therein.

granted the Brotherhood Monastery and the collegium revenues from a ferry crossing the Dnieper River near the town of Staiky.[23] Even Hetmans Ivan Briukhovets'kyi (1663–1668) and Demian Mnohohrishnyi (1668–1672) assigned small properties in the Oster and Kozelets' companies of the Kiev regiment to the use of the Brotherhood Monastery.[24] These hetmans realized that the collegium educated hundreds of young men who upon completion of their studies would enter the ranks of the Cossack administration and thus strengthen their state.

It was only during the tenure of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych (1672–1687), however, that regular generous support began to be received by the collegium from the Hetmanate. Samoilovych, an alumnus of the collegium, initiated large annual donations of money and property which eliminated the school's financial difficulties. Samoilovych was hetman when "the Ruin" ended, civil wars ceased, and peace was restored. In rebuilding the whole fabric of the Hetmanate, now reduced to the Left-Bank Ukraine, Samoilovych gave generously to churches, monasteries, and the Kiev Academy. His munificence was gratefully acknowledged in panegyrics in his honor.[25] During this time new students came to the collegium, including some who later became prominent in the upper echelons of Cossack nobility: Stepan Maksymovych (acting colonel of Starodub, 1725), Oleksii Turans'kyi (general chancellor of the Hetmanate, 1709–1716), Andrii Runovs'kyi (acting general chancellor, 1742–1749), Konstantyn Lysenevych (judge of the Chernihiv regiment, 1739–1757), Danylo Shramchenko (captain of Olyshivka, Kiev regiment, 1715–1725), Mykhailo Mokrievych (judge of the Chernihiv regiment, 1730s), Stepan Kozlovs'kyi (captain of Nove Misto, Starodub regiment, 1723). Among the students were also sons of the general quartermaster, Ivan Lomykovs'kyi, the colonel of Pryluky, Dmytro Horlenko, and the colonel of the mercenary *Kompaniitsi* regiment, Illia Novyts'kyi.[26]

[23] *PKK*, 2:453–56. Doroshenko's universal dated 7 February 1669 granted the revenues to Metropolitan Neliubovych-Tukal's'kyi, who transferred them to the Brotherhood Monastery. This was necessary since the Muscovite governor would not allow the monastery to use the revenues granted by Doroshenko, a foe of the Muscovites.

[24] S. Golubev, *Kievskaia akademiia v kontsi XVII i nachali XVIII stoletii* (Kiev, 1901), p. 35.

[25] *Ivan Velychkovs'kyi: Tvory*, ed. L. Makhnovets' (Kiev, 1972), pp. 54–55. Among those that survived was an eulogy to Samoilovych, "The Daedalus whose heart makes him build churches, protect the learned, finance the arts and defend the fatherland."

[26] Incomplete lists of 1685–86. Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia*, pp. 44–45.

During the hetmancy of Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709), the Kiev Mohyla Collegium experienced its "Golden Era." It was granted the full privileges of an academy in 1694, confirmed by Peter I in 1701.[27] Over 2,000 students attended the academy at this time. The distinguished faculty included Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi, Stepan Iavors'kyi, Teofan Prokopovych, Syluian Ozers'kyi, and Ioannikii Valiavs'kyi.[28]

Mazepa cultivated friendly relations with the metropolitan Varlaam Iasyns'kyi and the clerical elite: Lazar Baranovych, Dmytro Tuptalo, Stepan Iavors'kyi, Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi, Fedir Uhlyts'kyi, Ivan Maksymovych, Zakharii Kornylovych, Innokentii Monastyrs'kyi. During his hetmancy, he spent several million gold ducats on the construction of new churches in the Ukraine and on the renovation and decoration of older ones.[29] Mazepa influenced wealthy members of the Cossack nobility to follow his example with generous endowments for churches and monasteries throughout the Hetmanate. As a result General Quartermaster Vasyl' Dunin-Borkovs'kyi became the benefactor of the Ielets' Monastery in Chernihiv; the colonel of Pryluky, Dmytro Horlenko, built a church at Hustyn Monastery; the colonel of Poltava, Pavlo Hertsyk, endowed the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev; the colonel of Chernihiv, Iukhym Lyzohub, renovated parts of the Krupyts' Monastery; and the colonel of Myrhorod (later hetman), Danylo Apostol, built a stone church at Sorochyntsi.[30] Soon architecture and related arts and crafts flourished, creating the distinctive style called "Cossack Baroque."

The Kiev Academy shared in this munificence. Mazepa built a stone structure for the academy in 1703–1704. To expand its financial basis he granted or returned to the Brotherhood Monastery six villages, four hamlets, and sixteen city lots in Kiev, and in addition assigned the academy an annual subsidy of 1,000 gold ducats.[31] No wonder that

[27] Decree of Tsars Ivan and Peter dated 11 January 1694, and decree of Tsar Peter dated 26 September 1701. *PKK,* 2:488–97. The decree of 1694 gave the academy all the privileges without the title, whereas the decree of 1701 conferred the title.

[28] Zoia Khyzhniak, *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka akademiia* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 68–72; Askochenskii, *Kiev,* 1:288–316; Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia,* pp. 48–57.

[29] Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta iho doba* (New York, 1960), pp. 128–31, 157–62, esp. fn. 83 (pp. 157–58), where Ohloblyn cites a document from 1709 which enumerated all of Mazepa's financial outlays benefiting the Orthodox church.

[30] Ohloblyn, *Hetman Mazepa,* p. 130.

[31] N. Mukhin, *Kievo-Bratskii uchilishchnyi monastyr: Istoricheskii ocherk* (Kiev, 1893), pp. 363–82, provides five decrees of Mazepa granting these lands to the

panegyrics were composed to Mazepa annually. "Until now none has been like him and never again will we have another like him," wrote Antonii Stakhovs'kyi, later a metropolitan of Siberia.[32] Teofan Prokopovych dedicated his drama *Vladimer* to Mazepa, whom he calls the great patron of the "Mohyla-Mazepa Academy."[33]

Among the graduates of the Mohyla Academy during Mazepa's hetmancy were sons of Cossack officers who subsequently achieved prominence: Ivan Obydovs'kyi (colonel of Nizhyn, 1695–1701, and acting hetman in the 1701 expedition against the Swedes); Semen Chuikevych (acting general chancellor, 1727); Pylyp Orlyk (general chancellor, 1706–1709, and hetman in exile, 1709–1739) and the Berlo brothers (later regimental officers in Pereiaslav).[34]

Mazepa's defeat at Poltava in 1709 put an abrupt end to the academy's Golden Era. Its pupils were dispersed (only 161 remained in 1711),[35] its properties were ravaged by Russian troops, and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox church was forced to excommunicate its former patron and benefactor, Hetman Mazepa. The shadow of Poltava hung over the academy until Peter's death in 1725. The academy's printing press was forbidden to publish books in Ukrainian, students from the Right Bank were discouraged from enrolling, and graduates of the academy were urged to go north to Moscow and the new capital, St. Petersburg. There they became the backbone of the administration, church, and educational institutions of the new imperial Russia. Following the example of the institution's prominent alumnus and professor, Teofan Prokopovych, they left the academy and the Ukraine. The grave loss of intellectual manpower damaged the development of Ukrainian self-consciousness, literature, religion and political structures.[36]

Brotherhood Monastery; *PKK*, 2:472–503, gives sixteen decrees of Mazepa and Tsar Peter I granting various lands.

32 Ohloblyn, *Hetman Mazepa*, p. 136.

33 Ohloblyn, *Hetman Mazepa*, p. 137.

34 Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia*, pp. 50, 55, 57.

35 Borys Krupnyts'kyi, *Hetman Danylo Apostol i ioho doba (1727–1734)* (Augsburg, 1948), p. 160.

36 Among those who achieved high offices within the Russian ecclesiastical establishment were Stepan Iavors'kyi, head of the Russian church; Filotii Lezhchyns'kyi, metropolitan of Siberia; Innokentii Kul'chyts'kyi, bishop of Irkutsk and China, 1721, and saint of the Orthodox church; Ilarion Lezhais'kyi, head of the Chinese mission, 1714–19; Hervasii Lyntsevs'kyi, head of the Chinese mission, 1745–1755; Syl'vestr Krais'kyi, archbishop of Archangel. Askochenskii, *Kiev*, 1:295–304.

Others served with various Russian diplomatic missions in Western Europe: in

The academy began to revive in the eighteenth century, due to the efforts of Hetman Danylo Apostol (1727–1734) and Metropolitan Rafail Zaborovs'kyi (1731–1742). Apostol returned to the academy the holdings once granted to it by Mazepa and assigned it several new properties. In 1732, he also reinstated an annual stipend of 200 gold pieces from the treasury of the Hetmanate, a practice "known to my [Apostol's] antecedents, who granted 200 golden rubles annually from the military treasury for the payment of teachers."[37] After Hetman Skoropads'kyi's death in 1722 this practice had been discontinued by the Russian *Malorossiiskaia kollegiia.*

Zaborovs'kyi proved to be a talented church administrator and functionary. He added a second story to the academy's building, put the school's finances in order, cleared the academy of any suspicions of "separatism" by changing the textbooks to follow Russian examples, and rigorously enforced the 1720 ukaz against printing books in Ukrainian.[38]

Zaborovs'kyi's internal reorganization of the teaching curriculum added foreign languages, geography, history, and mathematics to the traditional disciplines. It was in the later years of Zaborovs'kyi's tenure that many of the academy's graduates went to western Europe to complete their education at European universities. Vasyl' and Iakiv Dunin-Borkovs'kyi went to Prussia, Petro and Iakiv Skoropads'kyi to Breslau, the Kuliabko brothers studied at Wittenberg (1750s); Ivan Peshkovs'kyi studied at Leipzig (1764), Symon Todors'kyi at Halle (1729), Petro Symonovs'kyi in Paris, Iakym Borsuk at Berlin (1744), Apollon Kochubei at Oxford, Iakym Sulyma and Heorhii Myloradovych at Göttingen, and F. Politovs'kyi at Leiden.[39] The best illustra-

---

Sweden — Ilia Stefanovych (1705–1710), and Davyd Skaluba (1720s); in the Netherlands — Ilia Bilozers'kyi (1713), and Ieronim Kolpets'kyi (1726–28); in England — Ivan Nahnybida (1749), and Ivan Vasylevs'kyi; in France — Andrii Henevs'kyi (1741) and Iosaf Shostakovs'kyi (1757); in Spain — Nartsyz Kvitka (1761–62); in Turkey — Petro Zlotkevych (1733) and Konstantyn Politans'kyi (1735); in Austria — Varlaam Maievs'kyi (1761) and Tymish Kolachyns'kyi (1761); in Prussia — Vasyl' Velychkovs'kyi (1750s); in Poland — Anton Pocheka (1749–1755) and Vasiian Radkevych (1688). Konstantin Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan', 1914), pp. 861–78.

37 D. Vyshnevskii, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII stoletiia* (Kiev, 1903), pp. 332–335. Decree of Apostol dated 4 January 1732.

38 Krupnyts'kyi, *Hetman Apostol,* pp. 160–62.

39 Vadim Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik,* 4 vols. (Kiev, 1908–14); Petro Kudriavtsev, "Osvitni-mandrivky vykhovantsiv Kyivs'koi akademii za kordon u 18 st.," *Kyivs'ki zbirnyky istorii i arkheolohii, pobutu i mystetstva,* vol. 1

tion of how these scions of wealthy Cossack families lived is given in the extensive correspondence between General Flag Bearer Mykola Khanenko (1741–1759) and his son Vasyl', who studied at the University of Kiel during 1746–1748.[40]

Some statistics are available of the numbers of students who attended the academy at this time:[41]

1738/39 —	444
1739/40 —	536
1743/44 —	902
1744/45 —	1100
1768/69 —	1078
1779/80 —	836.

Most of the students were the sons of Cossack or of priests. In 1736/37, the grammar class of 51 students numbered 16 of the former and 15 of the latter.[42] By 1763/64, the 166 students in the poetics class included 87 sons of clerics, 36 sons of Cossacks, and 43 others.[43]

In the eighteenth century the academy continued to prepare young men for careers in civil and church administration in the Hetmanate and in Russia. Graduates desiring a clerical position could choose either secular or monastic careers in the many monasteries, parishes, and deaneries of the Hetmanate. For those interested in a secular career, there were civil service positions in the central institutions of the Hetmanate, in the regional regimental chancelleries and local company offices, or in city and town administrations. Also, the system of over 1,000 primary schools needed teachers and the larger churches offered good positions as cantors. But far greater opportunities and rewards beckoned from the north, where many alumni went to work in all levels of the Russian administration. Among the most famous were Oleksander Bezborod'ko, alumnus of the class of 1756, who became chancellor of the Russian Empire;[44] Dmytro Troshchyns'kyi, alumnus of 1774, who became minister of justice in 1814;[45] Petro Zavadivs'kyi, alumnus of 1760 who became minister of education in 1802.[46] Still, a

(Kiev, 1931), pp. 286–294; Lev Mylovydev, "Proiekt universytetu v Kyevi v druhii polovyni 18 st.," *Kyivs'ki zbirnyky,* 1:295–306.

[40] The correspondence contains 35 letters for the years 1746–48. They were printed in the *Chernigovskie gubernskie vedomosti* in 1852 and 1853.

[41] For complete statistics, see Khyzniak, *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka akademiia,* p. 115.

[42] Vyshevskii, *Kievskaia akademiia,* pp. 352–56.

[43] Khyzhniak, *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka akademiia,* pp. 112–13.

[44] Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik,* 1:43–44.

[45] Askochenskii, *Kiev,* 2:327–30.

[46] Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik,* 2:102–103.

goodly number of the academy's students remained back home, forming a secular intelligentsia that kept the ideals of the Hetmanate alive in its waning years. After the Hetmanate's abolition in 1783, they began to foster the revival of Ukrainian consciousness. Among them were the Cossack civil servants Divovych, Pokas, Kalyns'kyi, Stefanovych, Velychko, and the Cossack nobles Borozna, Movchan, Polubotek, Khanenko, Kuliabka, Lukoms'kyi, Poletyka, and Hrabianka.[47]

The academy itself went into decline after the removal of Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyi as hetman in 1764. After the abolition of the Hetmanate in 1782 and the secularization of monasteries in 1790, the academy was deprived of its financial independence and its upkeep became the responsibility of the Russian Imperial government. Official efforts were directed toward depriving the Ukrainians of all vestiges of autonomy. In 1819, the academy, then the foremost educational institution in the Hetmanate, was transformed into a theological seminary, later renamed academy, and existed as such until the 1917 revolution.

Harvard University

[47] For their biographies see O. Ohloblyn, *Liudy staroi Ukrainy* (Munich, 1959).

Drama and Theater at Ukrainian Schools in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Bible as Inspiration of Images, Meanings, Style, and Stage Productions

PAULINA LEWIN

The use of Scripture as a source of artistic inspiration, characteristic of the West European church and school Baroque,[1] was especially important in the Ukrainian Baroque. As I have shown elsewhere,[2] the Orthodox tradition prepared its learned men for perception of the Baroque better than it had for the Renaissance. This was ascribable in large measure to a thorough knowledge of the Bible, indeed, to the constant presence of the Scripture in all areas of Orthodox culture and life. Ukrainian writers and educators familiar with contemporary European religious and cultural trends knew and understood the Bible far better than they grasped any Western learning. This was even more true of their students, readers, and audiences. The Bible was their best code for expressing and transmitting ideas, tastes, and new artistic forms.

V. Rjezanov's impressive studies[3] supply us with priceless texts, data, and commentaries. They contain numerous detailed comparisons between Ukrainian and Jesuit dramaturgy, and between the two and West European mystery plays from as far back as the Middle Ages. But the confrontations within the search for borrowings that are the

[1] Cf. Emil Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle: Etude sur l'iconographie après le concile de Trente: Italie-France-Espagne-Flandres* (Paris, 1972), passim.

[2] P. Lewin, "The Ukrainian School Theater in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: An Expression of the Baroque," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 1981): 54–65.

[3] V. Rezanov (Rjezanov), *Iz istorii russkoj dramy* (St. Petersburg, 1907); idem, *Pamjatniki russkoj dramatičeskoj literatury: Školnye dejstva XVII–XVIII vv. i teatr jezuitov* (Moscow, 1910); idem, *K istorii russkoj dramy: Èkskurs v oblast'*

pivot of Rjezanov's efforts seem in many regards to be irrelevant. It is very likely that Ukrainian school playwrights read Jesuit plays and saw performances of them in European countries, particularly in Poland. They may have seen some mystery plays in their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century popular forms. But they probably did not know much about the cycles of French, English, and German mystery plays that stimulated Rjezanov's scholarly ideas so strongly and could have been used largely by the Jesuits. It seems to me that what the Ukrainian school playwrights really found in contemporary West European schools and arts was a reaffirmation of their own tradition of turning to the Scripture as the boundlessly rich source of ideas, topics, meanings, images, and ways of expression. In this respect they did not need to borrow, directly or indirectly, from the Jesuit or mystery plays. They knew the Scripture very well, and they had a tradition of using it in fields other than dramaturgy. Thus in the seventeenth century they turned to the Bible and other sacred writings for the inspiration that resulted in a new Ukrainian cultural phenomenon — the school theater, which developed in accordance with a new style, that is, the Baroque. Thus what they really borrowed from the West were fashionable ideas for composing conceits, plot combinations, and stage productions based on the Bible.

***

Fundamental for the use of the Bible in Orthodox school theater and drama in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukraine was the symbolic interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, as inherited through Byzantine-Slavic Christianity and adapted to the needs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This interpretation, based on the Gospel and the writings of the apostles, was organized into philosophical systems by Orygenes of Alexandria (second century) and Saint Augustine (fourth century). It was reinforced by influences emanating from the Latin West, which brought to Ukrainians the learning of Thomas Aquinas (thirteenth century). The interpretation was sanctioned by the Catholic church at the Tridentine council in 1546 and strongly influenced Jesuit writings and arts.[4] It was essential to the use of the sacred Scripture in both Western and Eastern Christian drama-

teatra jezuitov (Nižyn, 1910); idem, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* vols. 1, 3–6 (Kiev, 1926–1929).

[4] Cf. J. Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny: Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1970), p. 87.

turgy during at least two of its historic periods: the Middle Ages and the Baroque. Related to this interpretation are several key dramaturgical structures. They include the staging of Old Testament scenes as prefigurations of New Testament events, and the use of allegorical figures to act out the eternal nature of biblical events and of their significance. These two structural elements were often closely connected and formed an expressive interpretative unit — the elaborated baroque conceit, considered the mark of skill and erudition at that time. Sometimes they were joined or mixed with a third element that derived from the Baroque admiration of classical antiquity and its Christian interpretation.

This is apparent in a play performed presumably in the mid-seventeenth century at the Kiev Collegium and preserved in a manuscript from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its title is *Dějstvye na Strasty Xrystovy spysannoe*[5] (The act composed to solemnize Christ's passion). The play comprises many scenes grouped into three acts. The first two scenes of act one are an allegorical introduction, announcing the victory of evil over love. There appear allegorical figures in the classicized disguise of the goddess of evil, Erinys (in Greek mythology any of the three Erinyes, but here a separate, superior figure), and her three sisters (the "real" mythological Erinyes), Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira. The next two scenes (three and four) stage the Old Testament story of Cain and Abel (Genesis 4), in which fratricide is presented as the triumph of evil. The act ends with an extended (scenes five through nine) performance of the Old Testament story of Joseph being sold by his brothers (Genesis 37). The result of envy, hatred, and fratricide, it will cause suffering for the redeemer, and eventually brings redemption. This refers us back to the subject of the play as announced by its title, since the story of Joseph was interpreted in Christian tradition as a prefiguration of the redemption of Christ.[6]

Act two is an allegorical commentary to act one. Here we find personifications of Christian virtues such as Benevolence, Love, Patience, Humility on the one hand, and, on the other, evil itself in the form of Erynis and her cortege — World, Flattery, and the seven deadly sins. The allegorical figures argue among themselves and also address the audience directly, as if speaking to all mankind. Love complains of the damage done to human hearts through evil's victory:

[5] The text is given in Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 3: 65–107, commentary on pp. 4–6.
[6] Cf. Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny,* pp. 101–102.

even fratricide becomes possible (lines 440–443, for example). The way to be saved, say Patience and Humility, is to wait for your savior, for salvation will come through his humiliation and death. The last, ninth, scene of act two is a logical transition to act three, where many excerpts from the Scripture will be staged. Thus act two ends with an allegorical dramatic moment in which God's Dignity calls for God's Vengeance to kill the goddess of evil and her subjects. But barring Vengeance's way stands Love, ready to die from vindictive arrows. Evil escapes to hell. The last words belong to Love, who declares "Az rod smertiju xošču ot uz svobodyty" ("I want to free mankind by my death," line 678).

Act three is the longest and most elaborate. It consists of scenes depicting Old Testament events, followed in each case by so-called declamations, in which twelve adolescents describe icons of Christ's passion and comment on them. The *argumentum,* that is, the note prefacing the act and delineating its subject matter, links it with the end of the previous act and interprets Old Testament events as prefigurations of Christ's passions: "Jako Ljubov-Xrystos Spasytel naš straždet y umyraet, pokazuetsja y vetxaho zavěta obrazamy y novoj blahodaty yzobraženiem stradanija Xrystova" ("Our Savior suffers and dies like Love did. It is shown by images from the Old Testament and new Gospel pictures of Christ's passion"). Similar notes precede each scene in this act. Thus, the first scene stages the appearance of the angel to Daniel (Daniel 7: 13), and the argumentum says: "Fěhura vetxaho zakona, proobrazujuščaja Xrysta, vo vertohradě moljaščahosja, — Danyyl, vyděniem ustrašennyj, padyj na zemlju, anhelom vozdvyzaem byvaet" ("A figure of the Old Testament, foreshadowing Christ praying in the garden, i.e., Daniel overawed by a vision, falls down and is raised up by an angel"). The next scene is performed against an icon — that of Christ praying at Gethsemane (Matthew 26:36–45, Mark 14:32–42, Luke 22:39–46). And so it goes. After the depiction of the cruel son and heir of King Solomon, Rehobam, who chastised the people of Israel (2 Chronicles: 10) comes a declamation before an icon of Christ smitten by the soldiers (Matthew 27:30, Mark 15:19). The appearance and description of the icon of Christ bearing the cross on his way to Golgotha takes place after the scene that shows Abraham and Isaac on their way to the offering (Genesis 22), with Isaac bearing the wood, presumably in the form of a cross. After the scene that stages the events in Numbers 21 ąnd has the argumentum, "Vozdvězaet Mojsej zmiju na stolpě na iscělenie

iudeom, ot nejaže pryxodjašče ysceljajutsja; kotoraja zmija znamenuet raspjataho na krestě Xrysta, spasytelja našeho" ("Moses set a fiery serpent upon a pole to heal the Jews, and who beheld the serpent of brass, he lived; the brass signifying the crucified Christ, our Savior") comes the revelation of the icon of the Crucifixion and its explanation. Finally, after the performance of the tragic story of Job, the allegorical figure of Lament weeps at Christ's sepulcher.

Yet another prefiguration of New Testament events is Valaam's trip and his prophecy (Numbers 22:21–35 and 24:15–17). Valaam "riding upon his ass"[7] appeared already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in West European Christmas plays as the prefiguration of the three wise men on their way to Bethlehem. For instance, one of the stained glass panels in the Canterbury cathedral showed Valaam motioning toward the guiding star.[8] In the Ukrainian school theater Valaam appeared in a Christmas play performed on 27 December 1702, in the north Russian town of Rostov. The play[9] was written by one of the most prominent Kiev college graduates, Dmytro Tuptalo, then metropolitan of Rostov and benefactor of its school, later canonized as Saint Dimitrii of Rostov. Valaam appears in scene 5 of the play, after the audience has seen, in scenes [2], 3, and 4, the shepherds whom the angels guided to the manger (Luke 2:8–15). The fifth scene begins with a monologue by the allegorical figure of Astrologer's Curiosity (Ljubopytstvo zvězdočetskoe). This figure demonstrates a knowledge of astrology by naming different stars and constellations, but cannot explain anything about the new wandering star. Finally, Astrologer's Curiosity decides that an explanation can be given by the prophet Valaam, known for his astrological wisdom. Curiosity goes to Valaam's grave, opens it, and Valaam pronounces the prophecy (ll. 531–532).[10] Then he explains that the star leads to a place where "Obrjaščet Jakova sěmja . . . blaženno, Ot nehože rodysja slovo voploščenno" ("Jacob's saintly seed will be found, from which the

[7] All English quotations from the Bible are taken from the King James version.
[8] J. Lewański, *Średniowieczne gatunki dramatyczno-teatralne*, no. 3: *Misterium* (Wrocław, 1969), p. 219, fn. 38; M. D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 23–24, 210.
[9] Text, Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 4: 81–150; and commentary, 37–57; and *Rannjaja russkaja dramaturgija,* ed. O. A. Deržavina et al., vol. 2: *Russkaja dramaturgija poslednej četverti XVII i načala XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 220–74, commentary pp. 333–35. In Rjezanov's edition the numbering of the lines is misleading.
[10] "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel" —Numbers 24: 17.

incarnated word is to be born"); thus the author adds to the Nativity story the first phrase of the Gospel according to John,[11] which, like other references to the Bible, needed no identification.

A Polish-language play written and performed at the Kiev Academy at the turn of the eighteenth century[12] is another striking example of the use of the Bible according to its baroque perception. The play has no exact title: the manuscript refers to it simply as *Dialogus,* and at the start is a Latin *argumentum,*[13] or very short summary of its content. In English translation it reads: "Dialogue in which the bride, that is the pious soul, excited by love, looks for her beloved, Christ incarnate, now among flowers as a wildflower,[14] now among kings in the appearance of a king, now among infants, as she listens where they weep." This is a Christmas play and, like many such school and popular plays, it uses the basic motifs of the biblical account (Matthew 2:1–12, 16 and Luke 2:1–4, 16) about the circumstances of Jesus' birth, King Herod's threats and deeds, and the three wise men and their gifts. The whimsical, learned baroque originality of this play lies in its exploitation of the Old Testament *Song of Songs.*

The idea of interpreting the *Song of Songs* as a Christian allegory, in which Christ is the bridegroom or the beloved, could have originated among the evangelists. John (3:28–29) tells that when John the Baptist was baptizing in Aenon, he said to the Jews: ". . . I am not the Christ, I am sent before him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridgroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled." And Matthew (9:15) recalls the words of Jesus to his disciples: "And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." The allegorical image of the bride as the pious soul could have been derived from the *Song of Songs* itself, where the bride

[11] "In the beginning was the word."

[12] About its discovery, identification, and dating, see P. Lewin, "Nieznany staropolski utwór sceniczny z Kijowa," *Pamiętnik Teatralny,* 1978, no. 3 (107), p. 384; for the text, ibid., pp. 387–408. We now know of three Kiev school plays written in Polish; that language was taught and used at the Kiev Mohyla Academy until the end of the eighteenth century.

[13] All notes and stage directions are in Latin.

[14] The wildflower was the baroque symbol for the theological source of grace. Cf. M. K. Sarbiewski, *Dii Gentium. Bogowie pogan* (Wrocław, 1972), pp. 224–26.

repeats: "Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth" (1:7), "I sought him whom my soul loveth" (3:1), "I will seek him whom my soul loveth" (3:2), "Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?" (3:3), and "I found him whom my soul loveth" (3:4). Later, mostly during the Baroque, the bride of the *Song of Songs* was depicted as Pious Soul wounded by Divine Love — Amor Divinus, a Christian allegorization of the classical god of love. Very popular throughout Europe was the book by the Jesuit Herman Hugo, *Pia desideria emblematis, elegiis et affectibus,* first published in 1624 and then reissued and revised repeatedly. Its Latin original and translations were known in Poland and in the Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[15]

The unknown author of our play took from the *Song of Songs* his central theme and main plot line: a bride seeking her beloved, valuing him highly and expressing her distress, finally finds him. But in accordance with the purgative policy of the Jesuits and the restrictions of the Orthodox church, the Old Testament motif was deprived of carnal descriptions and of any responses from the bridegroom. The plot line from the *Song of Songs* is intertwined with the traditional Nativity play by the bride's wanderings. She comes to Herod's palace when looking for her beloved as a king, she witnesses the massacre of the innocents, and finally comes with the three wise men and Divine Love to the manger in Bethlehem. The play's close relation to the *Song of Songs* is emphasized by numerous direct borrowings, which give the otherwise crude schoolplay the distinctive stylistic flavor of the great biblical poem. Let us enumerate these borrowings.

Line 2 of the play corresponds with "Thou hast ravished my heart" (S.S. 4:9); line 41, with "My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies" (S.S. 2:16 and 6:3); lines 45–46, with "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits" (S.S. 4:16); line 52, with "I will seek him whom my soul loveth" (S.S. 3:2); lines 79–81 and 225–230, with "If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents" (S.S. 1:8); lines 88, 223–224, 239, and 403–404, with "Whither is thy

[15] J. Pelc, *Obraz-Słowo-Znak: Studium o emblematach w literaturze staropolskiej* (Wrocław, 1973), p. 165; D. Čiževskij, "Emblematische Literatur bei den Slaven," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* 1965, no. 201, pp. 175–84; idem, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague, 1960), p. 384.

beloved gone . . . ? whither is thy beloved turned aside? that we may seek him with thee" (S.S. 6:1); lines 95–96, 287–288, 321–328, 407, and 427–428, with "I sought him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not. I will rise now, and go about the city in the streets, and in the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not. The watchmen that go about the city found me: to whom I said, Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?" (S.S. 3:1–3); line 336, with ". . . for love is strong as death; . . . the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame" (S.S. 8:6); lines 361–370, 385–386, and 419–422, with "I called him, but he gave me no answer. The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took my veil away from me. I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if ye find my beloved, that ye tell him, that I am sick of love" (S.S. 5:6–8); lines 411–413, with "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart . . ." and ". . . turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart . . ." (S.S. 2:9 and 2:17); line 543, with "I am the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys" (S.S. 2:1); lines 573–575 with "His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven" and "His hands are as gold rings set with the beryl . . ." (S.S. 5:11 and 5:14).

The influence of the *Song of Songs* is also visible in the composition of the play. Its first scene elaborates such fragments of the *Song of Songs* as 6:1–3, 3:2, and 2:1. Numerous and various repetitions are the most remarkable devices of the *Song of Songs*. There occur repetitions of words, word roots, phrases, anaphores, and, most characteristically, refrains. The same devices dominate the style of our play, and they are used in many of the direct borrowings noted above. The play persistently overuses these devices, however, and thus loses the ideal harmony of the biblical poem.

The peculiar use of the stylistic devices from the Bible in our play marks differences in outlook and style. In the *Song of Songs,* everything is what it appears to be, and comparisons are straightforward.[16] In its Christian interpretation, everything has an allegorical and secret meaning and needs an exegesis. In the Baroque, nothing is really what it seems to be; one cannot define anything, everything has many

[16] In the Old Testament, everything is viewed as the creation and revelation of God. External appearance serves to express God's perfection and thus is a symbol of eternal values; hence it is what it appears to be. Cf. W. Tatarkiewicz, *Estetyka średniowiecza* (Wrocław, 1962), pp. 11–18 (the chapter "Estetyka pisma świętego").

meanings. And in the awkward epigonic School Baroque (which precipitated a negative attitude toward this style from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries), the biblical devices are distorted and, so to speak, misrepresented. Thus, in the play in question, which follows and exaggerates baroque tendencies, biblical similies become overbuilt metaphors, word repetitions change into *jeu de mots* (puns), and parallelisms are replaced by sophisticated conceits which exploit all possible sources at once: the Old and New Testaments, their exegesis, classical mythology, contemporary astronomical knowledge, and other *eruditiones*. The conceits were supposed to prove the skills of the author or authors of our play. Let us examine them.

The *Dialogus*'s second scene, which introduces the motif traditional for Nativity plays, uses the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke as do other such plays. The bride, disguised as one of the three wise men (*Sponsa in persona regis*), opens her speech to Herod with an announcement about the heavenly signs indicating the birth of a human God (*Bóg człowieczy*). Her monologue (ll. 129–154) is a conceit built upon the characteristics of the human God, the heavens, the guiding star, and contemporary astronomical ideas and their theological explanations.[17] Thus, the bride explains that when God descends, the heavens descend with him and offer the star to his service. The stars are located in the heavens, on the eighth sky, and now they approach the earth together with the Lord. When the sun (meaning the human God, the Lord) shone high above, in the heavens, the stars shone in his eyes. The sun burned and the stars shone. But now the sun travels along its lower path, and the star guides the light. The stars always guide us to the sun, and they advise us to travel from night to day. The star guided the three wise men on their way here, i.e., to Herod's palace; thus, the sun they are looking for should be here. But they do not see it, and suppose that it is shaded by an eclipse, explained as the cloud of the flesh, which is for God what the moon is for the sun. So they decide to go on to their path's end where they will find the object of their worship. The conceit described above encloses such baroque symbols as Christ being the sun and the day, and the heavens and the earth being the opposites, light and darkness.

[17] These ideas were well known in Kiev, as is evident in the sermons of Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj from the middle of the seventeenth century, edited and reedited in his book, *The Key of Understanding*. See, e.g., the second Christmas sermon, or the first and second sermons for the Annunciation (Lady Day). See also, as

In subsequent scenes of the *Dialogus* a chain of conceits is built on a continuation of the Nativity story and various baroque symbols. Divine Love advises the bride to look for God's incarnation among children. God descended into a human nature. Humans are born as infants and thereafter grow up. The incarnation of God — that is, Christ — could have taken an adult body from the very beginning. But God acted in accordance with the limits of Nature; hence the human God had to appear first as an infant. The bride implores the Virgin to wrap her son very tightly in his diapers, or else to unwrap the diapers and expose him to the cold, or to remove him from her breast while he is still hungry, or to sprinkle the breast with milk so as to make him hungry — anything to make the babe cry and so guide the bride to him. Then the bride thinks up yet another ruse: she decides to make a rattle, for babies like this toy so much that they will cry hard to get it. The world is round, so the rattle, too, should be a globe, hollow with pebbles inside. The bride sets the globe on a cross, as on a handle, and "shakes the little globe" ("Pulset orbiculum"). This last whimsical stratagem brings us into the sphere of acknowledged baroque symbols: the world is represented as an idle, empty toy, the cross is the prefiguration of Christ's passion, and the rattle as a whole is the reverse of one of the insignias of worldly rule, that is, the orb, a small, usually gold or silver ball with a cross on top. Mâle mentions that at the very end of the Middle Ages the Christ child appeared in Christian art with the orb in his hand. From that time on, the image became established in the arts.[18] But the Baroque, as we see, went even further: not only is the world seemingly ruled by powerful men actually in God's hands, but to him it is no more than an idle, empty toy, handled by his cross.

In the next scenes, the bride brings the rattle to the manger in Bethlehem. On her way there, in company with the three wise men and Divine Love, a stage direction in Latin instructs, "The bride carries the globe, i.e., the world, in which the pebbles sound." In her speech (ll. 507–536) she diverts, so to speak, the initial link of the previous conceit chain: now she wants to offer the Lord the rattle not to make him cry, but to amuse him. Later, however, she returns to the rattle's previous symbolic meaning, as of the world being a toy in the Lord's hands. The world belongs to him, so she gives it to him as a toy,

---

characteristic for the time in question, Sarbiewski's *Dii Gentium,* chap. XV, pp. 154–78. Sarbiewski's works were known and cited by Kiev professors.

18 Mâle, *L'art religieux,* p. 326.

because when he descended to earth as a human being he became small like every newborn child. Now new links are added to the conceit. As a child, God may treat the world (the globe) like a ball, flinging it up to the sky by the cross. This is a whimsical, although not very luminous or sublime, prefiguration of the Crucifixion; the cross brings the world closer to the heavens. In addition to the rattle, the bride brings two other gifts: her heart and herself as the Lord's servant and companion. The heart may be used by the Lord as another toy — a top, since in baroque convention the top symbolized the instability of the human heart. In her last speech (ll. 591–604), made while handing over her gifts, the bride affirms that henceforth she will not spin with the unstable wheels of the world and of fortune, because now she is safe and close to her Lord.

Divine Love's gifts for Jesus are a bow and arrows, his classical attributes. The playwright used this idea as an introduction to a conceit based upon the biblical story of the Nativity and the theological understanding of Christ as Love. Divine Love (Amor) says (ll. 433–448, repeated in 543–568) that henceforth he gives the newborn in Bethlehem his own attributes as Love. Jesus may also use the bow to defend himself from Herod, since the reeds of his bedding in the manger will supply him with a sufficient quantity of arrows. Divine Love asks his fellow travelers, that is, the bride and the three wise men, to offer the newborn yet another target for the arrows of love — their hearts.

The gifts of the three wise men also serve to build baroque conceits. The two speeches (ll. 449–466 and 569–580)[19] of the wise man bearing gold (*Rex cum auro*) play with the words for gold-sun-fire and with their symbolic meanings in the Old Testament, where gold symbolizes the splendor of the sun in the heavens and God's glory,. The wise man says that the gold he brings to the Lord for a crown will shine in all its magnificence, as it shines in the sun's rays, when the Lord blesses it with his touch. The Lord's touch and glance are like fire, and the fire is the best test for gold. Gold provokes people to treason, but in God's possession it will become harmless. Using images from the *Song of Songs* (5:11 and 5:14), the wise man speaks about the Lord's golden head and hands, and he expresses the wish to see his humble gift of earthly gold placed alongside the divine gold.

[19] The first speeches of the wise men are pronounced on their way to Bethlehem; the second, in the manger.

The wise man with myrrh (*Rex cum myrrha*) reflects the biblical tradition in which myrrh serves to anoint prophets, priests, and kings and thereby bestows holy powers upon them. The *Song of Songs* (1:13, 3:6, 4:6, 5:1, 5:13) points out the fragrance of myrrh. In his first speech (ll. 467–494) the wise man says that he brings the newborn Lord myrrh because he should be anointed as a prophet, a priest, and a king, and because the fragrance of myrrh there in the manger will delight him. There follows an erudite enumeration of the ingredients myrrh is made from, which leads to one more link in the conceit chain: the myrrh will smell even better when a lily and roses are added. The wise man explains these symbols: Jesus is the lily and Mary, the roses. His second speech (ll. 585–590) adds the motif of Jesus' sacrifice, for which he should be anointed. The same motifs are at play in the speeches (ll. 495–506 and 581–584) of the wise man with frankincense (*Rex cum thure*). The newborn will need the frankincense when, as a priest, he offers himself for sacrifice, whereas the wise man himself, like every sinner, hopes that the smoking frankincense will veil his sins and enable him to approach God, in both the literal and figurative sense. In addition, says the wise man, the frankincense will be beneficial in the manger where cattle are. Proclaiming himself a subject of the newborn king, the wise man declares that he will light the frankincense with his love.

In the Kiev *Dialogus,* fragments of the Bible other than the *Song of Songs* and the Nativity story are used in the same baroque manner. Thus in her first monologue the wandering bride asks the Gideon's dew where it sprinkles the special flower — that is, her beloved, the incarnated God she is seeking (ll. 49–50). The image corresponds with the Gideon story in Judges 6:36–40,[20] and from the play's outset connects the theme of the *Song of Songs* with the theme of the Savior chosen by God. Later in the same monologue (ll. 69–72), as she searches for her beloved, the bride contemplates the possibility of his incarnation in such forms as dew fallen on fleece like a pure rain or as a

20 "And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said, Behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the floor; and if the dew be on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the earth beside, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said. And it was so: for he rose up early on the morrow, and thrust the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowl full of water. And Gideon said unto God, Let not thine anger be hot against me, and I will speak but this once: let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. And God did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground."

fiery cloud. She ponders whether he could be in the midst of the burning bush. The two last images can be found in the book of Exodus (19:16, 18 and 3:2) and are connected with the revelation of Almighty God.[21] All these interlocking connections, references, and allusions which would escape many of us today were obvious to the audience of the time, who perceived them as acute conceits.

Our playwright handled the New Testament in the same manner. At the beginning of the third scene, the bride, after a futile visit to Herod's palace, seeks the Lord elsewhere and desperately laments, "Evidently thy kingdom is not of this world," using Christ's words from the Gospel according to John 18:36.[22] The opposition of the kingdom of this world and the kingdom not from hence is subsequently developed in the conceits played on the gifts brought to Bethlehem. When the bride describes the massacre of the innocents, she compares them to bunches of grapes cut from the vine before they have ripened (ll. 414–416). The image is from Christ's call, cited by John (15:1–6),[23] to abide with God. One other quotation from John (1:1–3)[24] is used twice. It occurs first when the bride reports to Divine Love how she sought her beloved and how she once thought she had heard the eternal word (ll. 409–410), and then again at the play's end. The drama ends with an epilogue supposedly performed on the avanscene,

[21] Exodus, 19:16. "And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled" and from 19:18: "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire." Exodus 3:2–4: "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him [Moses] in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I."

[22] "Jesus answered [Pilate], My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence."

[23] "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

[24] "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made."

which is now the manger (that is, the traditional Polish and Ukrainian créche), with the three wise men and the bride kneeling in the rear. Divine Love meets a scribe (*Pisarz z piórem i papierem*), and their dialogue is a conceit built upon the quotation in question. The scribe has heard about the appearance of a new word, and wants to learn how to read it. Divine Love shows the three letters usually written on the front of the créche, IHS,[25] to the scribe but he does not know how to decipher them. This situation allows the play to finish in a didactic vein. Amor instructs the scribe and the school audience that to read and spell out the word which unites Alpha with Omega — that is, the beginning and the end of everything, because it has no beginning and no end (Revelation 1:8) — one must study diligently and learn a great deal.

Other Ukrainian school dramas give us fewer but no less interesting and whimsical examples of baroque conceits built upon the Bible. Thus, in Dimitrii Tuptalo's Christmas play, scene 8 is an exploitation of the motif of Herod's perfidious intrigues and deeds after the departure of the three wise men from his palace, as given briefly in the Bible (Matthew 2:7–8, 12–13, 16–18), as well as of the Old Testament prophecies and the symbolic meaning of the cup Jesus speaks about in Gethsemane.[26] The scene takes place in Herod's throne room, where he and his senators interrogate the guards who are watching for the return of the three wise men. But they have not appeared, and Herod must look for some other way to find where the new king was born. He calls the most learned Jewish rabbis before him. In answer to Herod's question they quote Old Testament prophecies. By way of demonstrating his familiarity with the Scripture and enlightening the audience, the author indicates the exact sources of those quotations. The First Rabbi says: "Napysal Ysajja prorok u Talmuty, Jako měl roditisja ot kolěna Yjudy Z domu Davyda; v hlavě tak sedmoj veščaše, Ehda

[25] Z. Gloger, in his *Encyklopedia staropolska,* vol. 1 (reprinted, Warsaw, 1958), p. 262, writes that these letters were put on many religious objects. Some people read them as "In hoc signo," and others as "Jesum habemus socium" or "Jesus hominum Salvator." Sometimes they were understood simply as the first three letters of the name Jesus, in which "H" stood for the Greek letter "eta."

[26] See Matthew 26:39: "And he [Jesus] went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." Also Mark 10:38: "But Jesus said unto them [his disciples James and John], 'Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of?" See also Mark 14:36 and Luke 22:42–43. The image of Christ in Gethsemane with an angel (according to Luke) passing him the chalice was and is very popular in Christian paintings from at least the time of the Baroque.

carju Axazu sobesědovaše: 'Se děvaja vo čревě pryjmet, rodyt syna, Emmanuyl narečet; taja toho vyna: Prestol Davyda otca — eho prestol budet, Carstvu že eho konca vo věky ne budet'" (ll. 909–916). This is indeed in accordance with the book of Isaiah 7:12–14: "But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And he [Isaiah] said, Hear ye now, O house of David, . . . Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Moreover, the same quotation occurs in Matthew (1:22–23) in the angel's explanation to Joseph, proving Mary's immaculate conception.[27] Subsequently the rabbi refers to wise Solomon (ll. 917–920), and we indeed find his source in Proverbs 11:21. Then he refers to Jeremiah (ll. 921–924), with an obvious mistake in enumeration, probably made by the play's first scribe, because it recurs in all extant copies — the play's reference is to chapter 3 instead of 23 or 33.[28] Then the rabbi refers to Valaam, who, as we remember, had appeared and prophesied in scene 5 of the play.

The Second Rabbi (ll. 931–942) cites what "Myxěja prorok yzjavljaet, Yže vo hlavě pjatoj syce povědaet" about the new king of Israel's place of birth. In the Bible (Micah 5:2) the prophecy reads: "But thou, Beth-lehem Ephrath, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting."[29]

[27] ". . . it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us."

[28] Cf. "Yeremija v hlavě tretej eho čaet, Ot sěměny Yjakovlja yzyty veščaet: 'Na zemly javysja y žyvet s čelověky. Nevydymy znan budet meždu čelověky.'" Also, in the Scripture, Jeremiah 23:5–6: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord Our Righteousness," and Jeremiah 33:15–16: "In those days, and at that time, will I cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this is his name wherewith he shall be called, The Lord Our Righteousness."

[29] Corresponding to Matthew 2:5–6 "And they said unto him, In Beth-lehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the prophet, And thou Beth-lehem, in the land of Juda, art not least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel"; also to John 7:42: "Hath not the scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?"

The irate Herod chases the rabbis out, and thereafter displays increasingly mad hatred, giving the playwright good reason to concoct one more whimsical link in the conceit chain. On the advice of his senators Herod decides to massacre the innocents.[30] His speech to two of his army commanders and their responses (ll. 983–1004) pantomime the ceremony of taking a joint vow of vengeance. Herod draws his sword from its sheath and orders the two to follow him. They, too, unsheath their swords, and after kissing them, pierce their hands, allow the blood to drip into a cup, and drink it (a stage direction after line 996 dictates "Pjut" — they drink). I. Sreznevskij explained the significance in Old Rus' of not only the word "kljatva" but of the ceremony, as well. "In Old Rus' the most important vow was made upon arms," he wrote, quoting from the chronicles and pointing to analogies in the Bulgarian, Serbian, Bohemian, Slovak, and Germanic cultures.[31] The blood vow was viewed by Christians as a mark of pagan cruelty, however, and in this play underscored the cruelty of Herod as fixed in folk tradition. The last link in the conceit chain here is Rachel's weeping, which ends scene 8 and extends through the dramatization, behind a screen, of the slaughter of the innocents in scenes 9 and 10. Sung by a choir, it symbolizes, following the Gospel,[32] the sorrow caused by the massacre of the infants.

Plays for the Ukrainian school theater were written and directed with, so to speak, the Bible open. The playwright not only used biblical plots, but often built speeches and dialogues of *dramatis personae* on borrowings from the Scripture. Thus, in the play *Mudrost' Predvěčnaja* (Preeternal Wisdom),[33] performed at the Kiev Mohyla Academy at Easter in 1703, the first scenes of act one are built upon

[30] Cf. Matthew, 2:16.

[31] I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka* (Moscow, 1893), and reprints.

[32] Matthew 2:16–18: "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Beth-lehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not." Cf. Genesis 35:19: "And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Beth-lehem," and Jeremiah 31:15: "Thus saith the Lord; A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not."

[33] Text, Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 3: 159–212; commentary, ibid., pp. 22–31.

quotations from chapters 2 and 3 of the book of Genesis. The action takes place in the garden of Eden, but instead of biblical "characters," allegorical figures appear: Wisdom, Soul, Reason, Will, the seven deadly sins and others. In her introductory speech Preeternal Wisdom — the allegory of God the Creator — says about Paradise: "Sym da budet sotvoren vlastelin prylyčnyj. . . . Eho že rady y sej vertohrad nazdaty . . . umyslyl" (ll. 36, 38–39), which corresponds to Genesis 2:8–9: "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food." Later Wisdom calls to Soul, ". . . pryjdy tamo! . . . Vo vertohrad, nasažden tebě rady!" (ll. 43, 44), corresponding to Genesis 2:15: "And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it." Farther along, "Az jakože rěx tebě, ta vsja ymašy syce" (l. 48) and "Kromě dreva, eho že vkus smert ty porodyt" (l. 51), corresponds to Genesis 2:16–17: "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." In the second scene, the biblical serpent engaged in the act of temptation[34] is represented by the figures of the seven deadly sins tempting the Soul. The words of the serpent and the woman become short speeches by these allegorical figures. The third scene is a version of Genesis 3:7–24, with direct borrowings in the speeches of Reason and Shame.[35] In both the second

[34] Genesis 3:1–6: "Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat. . . ."

[35] Cf. In the play: *Razum*: "Sram bezobraznyj lět mně pryhlasyty, Da Duša Edem ne budet dnes zrěty. O blahovydniy Srame! Srame, sěmo Prytecy skoro, . . . Dažd tvoju Dušy, ray pohublšoj, ryzu, Ubo da ne zryt na nebo, no nyzu" (ll. 120–125) and: "Oblecy, Srame, vo tvoja odežy I izvedy ju vně raja hradežy" (ll. 128–129); *Sram*: "Sut' dreva husty, . . . Zdě sokriju smělo" (ll. 131–132); *Razum* [to the figure of Soul]: "Tecy skoro . . ." (l. 134). In Genesis 3:7: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked . . . 8: And they heard the voice of the Lord God . . . and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the

and third scenes, the biblical text is developed dialogically and theologically, through speeches by the allegorical figures of Soul, Will, and Reason expressing the Christian interpretation of original sin and evil.

The Orthodox school theater did not, as a rule, allow actors to perform the holiest figures (God, Jesus, Mary) on stage.[36] Some other means were used to depict them. Icons were often shown and described in so-called declamations. In the speeches of allegorical figures and angels, New Testament events were recapitulated and excerpts from the Scripture were used. Thus, in Tuptalo's play about the Virgin Mary's Dormition (in the Latin church called Assumption), *Komedya na Uspenye Bohorodycy,*[37] presumably staged in Černihiv in 1677–1678 or somewhat later, the allegorical figure of Church's Lament quotes (ll. 295–298) from the Gospel according to John (19:26–27): "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, . . . he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." In scene 4 of act one, in the dialogue between Doubting Thomas and the allegorical figure of Faith, the author uses quotations from the Gospel in Thomas's speech. Thus, repeating verse 25 from chapter 20 of John, in the play Thomas says: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe" (ll. 694–695). In the response of the figure of Faith we find another quotation (l. 697) from chapter 20 of John, verse 29: "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." And in his speech (l. 739) the angel repeats from verse 27: "and be not faithless, but believing." In the Bible both of the last two quotations are the words of Jesus.

The major part of the final, third act of the *Preeternal Wisdom* — namely, scenes 2 to 9 — present an allegorization of the New Testament story of Christ's betrayal and crucifixion. The allegorical

garden. 9: And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? 10: And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself." Then 3:21: "Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them"; and 3:23: "Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden. . . ." Verses 8–10 (also 17: "And unto Adam he said . . . in sorrow shalt thou eat of it [the ground] all the days of thy life") from the same chapter are used in scene 6 of act one of the play, when Wisdom seeks the hidden Soul (ll. 239, 249, 251, 255, 262).

36 Cf. Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 4: 50, and 5: 103.

37 Text, Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 5: 189–238; commentary, ibid., pp. 47–84. Also in *Rannjaja russkaja dramaturgija,* 2: 172–219; commentary, pp. 329–32.

figures of Hostility and Folly replace the Jewish priests, and Duplicity represents Judas, Love — Jesus, Hypocrisy — Pilate, and Arrogance — Herod. In their speeches mainly quotations from Matthew and Luke are used.[38] Also, scene 9, in a speech by Love as she is being crucified by soldiers on Hostility's orders, there is a paraphrase from the beginning of Psalm 42, which is very popular in Christian writings. Love says: "Ne tako elen' yščet ystočnykov vodnyx, Jako az těx poyskax hvozdyj mně uhodnyx," which corresponds to "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God."

In the Ukrainian school theater directors, too, relied on the Bible for guidance in making stage directions. Sometimes biblical events served only as a nucleus for action originating in the playwright's or director's creative imagination, as happened in medieval West European mystery plays. At other times, however, not only did the authorized, canonical books of the Bible chart the course of action, but so did the Apocrypha, known from the Septuagint, Vulgate, and early Christian writings.

In the play *Dějstvye na Strasty Xrystovy,* scene 3 of act one consists of only two lines. This short speech by Cain is a condensation of Genesis 4:3, 5. The speech expresses Cain's affront when his offering is rejected, but the *argumentum* ("Kain žertvu prynosyt Bohu y oskorbysja, jako nepryjatna byst jeho zêrtva Bohu") and the scene following it indicate that the act of offering should be pantomimed on stage. It is from the Bible that we learn how this pantomime might have been performed. There it is written "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground," so we can imagine that the setting should be of a field with some corn or other crop on one side, some trees on the other, and as backdrop a perspective painting of Paradise, from which Cain's parents were expelled when evil prevailed. Probably there were some stones about, from which Cain could have built an altar, as was later done by Abraham (Genesis 22:9). And Cain might have made some beseeching gestures toward the heavens (that is, the mobile clouds that hung above the stage during almost every school performance). He might have repeated these gestures several times so as to let the audience feel the tension and drama of God's rejection. To demonstrate how "wroth" Cain was, the stage director could have directed the actor to scatter the offerings and the altar. Thus, the pantomime and the setting would provide a detailed dramatization of the event, despite the brevity of Cain's speech.

[38] Cf. Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 3: 28–29.

The next scene starts with two lines of Abel's speech to God, to whom he has brought a lamb in offering. This is interrupted by Cain's call to Abel to come and see his field. The stage director did not need any notes here: it was obvious what should occur on stage between these two speeches. The Bible (Genesis 4:4) says that "the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering," and that Cain witnessed this. How could that be shown? We can imagine that on stage, across from Cain's field, lay Abel's pastures — that is, the stage floor covered with green fabric, upon which stood some bushes and lambs, whether dummies or mobile wooden toys. When Abel entered with the lamb in his arms, Cain could have been working on his field or crouched in anger under a tree. Abel could have used the scattered stones to rebuild an altar, on which he put the tied lamb. Obviously, he pantomimed a prayer. Then came the opportunity for the stage director to perform technical miracles: to make a flash of light come from the clouds, and with it the eye of providence (perhaps to the accompaniment of thunder); first to darken the altar and make the lamb disappear and then to bathe the empty altar in light. Cain and Abel should, from either side of the stage, pantomime the feelings attributed to them in the Bible: Cain, of disbelief and anger, and Abel, of ecstasy. Although no such pantomime scene is mentioned in this play, without it we cannot explain the transition from Abel's speech: "Se ahnca tučna tebě vo žertvu prynošu Savaofu: vozry nan, userdno tja prošu" ("There I brought to offer you, Sabaoth, a fatted lamb: look down on it, I beseech you"; ll. 147–148), to Cain's speech beginning (l. 149): "Pojdy, brate Avelju, na pole so mnoju" — ("Come Abel, my brother, with me to my field") responding to Genesis 4:8. The next eleven lines of the dialogue, spoken as the brothers walk about in the field, Cain complaining and Abel trying to pacify him, extend the same verse of the Bible. Cain's last utterance, ending the scene (l. 160: "Se ty sam lestec esy, ne budešy žyty" — "You are the flatterer and you will not live") suggests a subsequent pantomime in which Cain kills Abel.

Action taken directly from the Bible is even more obvious and specific when we imagine how scene 7 of act three of the play was staged. Here the speeches have a less dramatic import and power than the pantomimes, but no stage directions are given. The first speech is Abraham's; it consists of four lines (ll. 911–914) and is directed to his servants. He orders them to sit down and wait for him and his child to return after he finds the place to which he is called by God. From this

and the next dialogues of the scene we learn nothing about the number of servants present or props used or scenery needed. But in Genesis 22:3–5 we read: "And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his *ass* and took *two* of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave *the wood* for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him. Then *on the third day* Abraham *lifted up his eyes* and saw *the place afar off*. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will *go yonder* and worship, and come again to you."[39] Thus, the stage director knew that he had to provide two servants and an ass. The latter could have been a toy on wheels, or, for more fun, with less expense, two boys could have ridden a stick under a gray cloth, with a dummy snout and tail. On the third day of the trip, the actors would have been directed to pantomime fatigue. At the proper moment, Abraham had to lift his eyes and look "yonder," pointing out his destination to the servants and to Isaac. Hence the scene began on the avanscene — the road in most performances, with a perspective painting, probably of some mountains, as backdrop and with clouds above. The servants obviously led the ass, and from the Bible we know that they had to carry wood, fire, and a knife, because Genesis says that Abraham took these items from them. During the play they give these to him while pronouncing two lines of farewell (ll. 915–916). Then they may have sat down somewhere on the side of the stage, the ass with them, waiting. The next sequence requires only Abraham's and Isaac's active participation. Here there is some divergence from the Bible, obviously caused by the prefigurative Christian import of the scene. In Genesis 22:6 we read: "And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son." But in our play Abraham does not act this out. He says to Isaac (ll. 917–918): "*Vozmy*, čado, sej snop drov: grjaděmo palyty žertvu" ("*Take*, child, this bundle of wood: let us go to burn the offering"). And Isaac answers (ll. 919–920): "Tvorju volju, otče moj: tebě poslěduju I na ramu sej snop drov, ogn v rucě pryjmuju" ("I obey, my father. I follow you and put the wood on my shoulder and take the fire in my hand"). The enactment of these lines created a symbolic, prefigurative image of Christ bearing the cross on his shoulder, fiery heart in his hands, on the way to his self-offering. The next four lines — that is,

[39] Here and below the emphases in the biblical text are mine. They indicate directions that are absent in the extant text of the play and must have been drawn out from the Scripture.

the second part of Isaac's speech, and Abraham's answer — are a direct borrowing from verses 7 and 8 of the Scripture: "Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering." In the play the angel's speech to Abraham follows immediately. Again, parts of the story missing in the text of the play come from the Bible (Genesis 22:9–10): "And they came to the place which God had told him of; and *Abraham built an altar there,* and *laid the wood in order,* and *bound Isaac* his son, and *laid him on the altar upon the wood.* And Abraham *stretched forth his hand,* and *took the knife* to slay his son." In our play, as in the Bible, only after this pantomime does the angel reveal himself. The last speech of the scene — the angel ordering Abraham to stop — concludes the biblical story abruptly, perhaps because the story's resolution was not essential to the prefigurative structure of the play.

The symbolic and allegoric treatment of the Bible probably inspired some complex stagings. One example is the performance of Tuptalo's play about the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. In the play's first scene, relating Jacob's vision, Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28:12–13) had to be staged. In his commentary to the play Rjezanov pointed out that in Church literature Jacob's ladder is a popular symbol and prefiguration of Christ's descent to earth and of the incarnation of the Word that was God. As an example he cited the popular Ukrainian religious hymn (acathistos) to the Virgin Mary, in which she is called "the ladder Jacob has seen." Rjezanov added that "on holidays (the day of Dormition among them), in commemoration of the Holy Virgin the morning Church service includes the reading of the Old Testament passage about Jacob's ladder."[40] In the Scripture we read that Jacob "dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the Lord stood above it."

In the Apocrypha Jacob's vision is described even more colorfully. Since it is known that Dmytro Tuptalo did not avoid reference to the Apocrypha in his writings, Rjezanov hypothesized that he wrote his play about the Virgin Mary's Dormition with the popular *Paleja Tolkovaja na Judeji* in mind.[41] Here, to the canonical description of

[40] Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 5: 57.

[41] The *Paleja* was an apocryphal Christian chronicle of events from the time of creation up to the time of Christ. About its popularity in the Ukraine in the seventeenth century, even among highly educated men, see: B. Adrianova, "K

Jacob's ladder is added that at its top "was a face like a human one, carved in fire. There were twelve steps leading to the very top, and on every step were two men: one on the right side, and one on the left, watching each other. . . . The face on the very top was in the middle. . . ."[42]

Tuptalo's play begins with a monologue by Jacob in which he summarizes earlier biblical events, beginning with his grandfather Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son and Jacob's father, Isaac. Thus his vision is presented within the convention that treats Isaac as the prefiguration of Christ. Jacob tells the audience that following his parents' wish, he is on his way to his uncle Laban to marry one of his daughters. After a tiring day of travel, he will now lie down on the ground to rest, using a stone for a pillow. This monologue and the pantomime of lying down to sleep surely took place on the avanscene. The stage director's main task was to depict Jacob's vision. Rjezanov thought that at this point a curtain at the rear could have opened, revealing the ladder. The ladder probably had to be a rather solid contrivance, so as to support at least 24 actors (twelve on each side) during the performance; most likely they were also a choir. There should have been a passage, with large and clearly visible emblems of earth and the heavens, sufficiently wide for two angels to descend from the mobile fabric clouds (dark, because it is night) to speak to Jacob and then to reascend. At the ladder's top there was probably an immense face made from some nonflammable material (clay, for instance) so that a fire could be lit behind it.

The angel's speech (ll. 49, 51) to the sleeping Jacob ("Zry umnyma očyma vysotu nebesnu. . . . Možešy ly zvězdnoe čyslo yzčytaty?" — "Behold with the eyes of the soul the highs of the heavens. . . . Canst thou tell over the number of stars?") could have given the producer the idea, popular in the baroque theater, of making the stars glow in the dark sky, at least for a short time. But if we consider that the two angels and the supposed immense face represented the Lord and his words in the Bible (Genesis 28:13–15), and if we recall the Orthodox prohibition against depicting God on stage, our deduction might be that, despite the tempting inspiration of the *Paleja* and contrary to Rjezanov's hypothesis, the producer of the Ukrainian

---

literaturnoj istorii Tolkovoj Palei," *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii,* 1909, p. 155.

42 Cited by Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 5: 58.

school theater set at the top of the ladder not the blasphemous face, but an icon of Christ the Pantocrator in full candlelight. This would have been a better solution for the play itself. Thus, in the middle of the first scene, when Jacob wakes up, the allegorical figure of Prophesying Spirit explains the vision to him. The spirit says: "Na toj lěstvycy Hospod' sebe utverždaše, Desnyceju myšceju vsěx blahoslovjaše" ("On this ladder the Lord established himself firmly, blessing all of us with his right and left hands"; ll. 119–120), and later (ll. 130–131, 135–136): "Lěstvyca stojaščaja na zemly nedvyžno, značyt děvu čistuju. . . . *Hospod' že* na lěstvycy onoj utverždennyj — Razuměj, *jako . . . syn Boha voploščennyj*" ("The ladder set fast up on the earth means the Virgin Mary. . . . And *the Lord* on the top of this firmly established ladder shall be understood *as the Son of God* made flesh").[43]

As Jacob sleeps a choir of angels sings twice. Rjezanov suggested that when Jacob woke up the back curtain covered the ladder, but I believe that the icon remained uncovered. The choir reappears and has an important part in scenes 3 and 5 of act one, and later in scene 1 of act two. I would suppose that the curtain was opened again then.

Scenes 2 through 9 of act three of the *Preeternal Wisdom,* which we defined previously as an allegorization of New Testament events, are a depiction, quite rare in the East Slavic Orthodox tradition, of Christ's passion actually performed by actors. It seems obvious to me that the play's stage director followed the Gospels in preparing the settings, scenery, props, and supernumerary cast and in directing the actors themselves. This is probably why the playwright did not supply any written stage directions. The second scene, in which Hostility (biblically the highest priest) takes counsel with Folly (the chief priest) about how to get rid of Love (Jesus) and they are helped by Duplicity's (Judas's) proposition, must be set according to Matthew 26:3–4: "Then assembled together the chief priests, and *the scribes,* and *the elders* of the people, *unto the palace* of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas. And consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him," and 26:14–15: "Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, And said unto them, What will ye give me,[44] and I will deliver him unto you?" The third scene consists of Duplicity and Love's dialogue, and ends with the soldiers' capture of Love.[45] The

[43] The emphasis is mine — PL.
[44] In the play Duplicity says: ". . . no čto xoščete mně daty?" (l. 890).
[45] Two of them pronounce short speeches, followed by a soldiers' choir.

text prompted the stage director to follow Matthew 26:47–50,[46] that is, to set the scene in Gethsemane, bring in apostles and soldiers (as mute characters), and direct the actors' gestures and pantomimic movements accordingly. The remaining scenes transmit the action to Folly's residence, then to Hypocrisy's palace, to Arrogance's palace, and finally to the places of Love's passion. According to the Scripture,[47] several changes of scenery were required: first the setting had to be Sanhedrin's courtroom, then Gethsemane, then the courtroom again, then Pilate's and Herod's reception chambers, and finally the places of flagellation and crucifixion. Contemporary techniques allowed these changes to be made readily. We may suppose that upstage there was a chair and some benches, which could be made more or less sumptuous, depending on what capes were thrown over them. For the outdoor scenes, several backdrops with perspective paintings were needed. The pole and the crucifix could have stood at the sides of the stage and been moved when and where needed. To simulate the passing from one palace to another, when the backdrop did not need to be lowered, characters from the one scene could walk around the stage on marked lines, allowing for the switching of capes and the appearance of new actors in the rear. Indications for props, attributes, modes of action, and supporting cast were taken from Scripture. Thus, in Matthew 26:57 we read that when Jesus was brought before Caiaphas, the high priest, there "*the scribes* and *the elders* were assembled." In the play there is only a very short cue (half of line 1005) for the group of allegorical figures — the sins, which pronounce the death sentence on Love in Folly's court — who are never mentioned before or after. From the Gospel (verse 62), the actor got the direction, "the high priest arose," and the stage director planned a pantomime, supplemental to the play's text, according to Matthew 26:67: "Then did they [the members of the Sanhedrin] *spit in his* [Jesus'] *face,* and *buffeted him*; and *others smote him with the palms of their hands.*" Luke 23:1 reads: "And the whole *multitude* of them *arose, and led him* unto Pilate." In our play this becomes a "transferral" to the "other" palace. Once the action moved to Arrogance's (Herod's) chambers, the actors

[46] "And while he [Jesus] yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves. . . . Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast. And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him. . . . Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him."

[47] Cf. Matthew 26: 57–68; Luke 23: 1–12; Matthew 27: 24–30; Luke 23: 13–26; Matthew 27: 27–31.

were to act out the behavior of the priests and scribes, who "*stood and vehemently accused*" Jesus, and to pantomime how "Herod with his men of war . . . *arrayed him in a gorgeous robe,* and sent him again to Pilate" (Luke 23: 10–11). The actors serving as "the multitude," when back in Hypocrisy's (Pilate's) palace, were instructed how to play that role in Luke 23:23, where it is said that "they were instant with loud voices." The text of the play suggests that the mainly pantomimic action must have adjourned to the avanscene, where, following Matthew 27:27–31, "the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers. And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him. . . . And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head. And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him."[48] The parts Love speaks in scenes 8 and 9 prove that the flagellation and crucifixion were shown onstage. As the pantomime of flagellation takes place (scene 8), the allegorical figure of the World, seeking Love, is led by an angel to the pole.[49] Later, World laments over Love's condition, and Love explains the purpose of these sufferings (ll. 1298–1314). Scene 9 is, as Rjezanov pointed out, "a stylization of the crucifixion,"[50] described in Hostility's speech thus: "Maju az krest, na kotrom prybju nozě, rucě, I věm, že umertvytsja v takoj tjažkoj mucě, Postjahnu ju na krestě . . ." (ll. 1339–1341). The speech ends with an order to the soldiers,[51] which leads to the pantomime of crucifixion. During it, Love speaks once more.

One of the notorious details of baroque paintings and stage productions is derived from the Bible — namely, the hanging, mobile clouds on which angels and other heavenly beings sit, descend, and ascend. Descriptions of such apparitions can be found, for example, in the books of Daniel (7:13) and of Revelation (1:7 and 14:14), and in the Gospel according to Matthew (24:30, 26:64), Mark (13:26, 14:62), and Luke (21:27). In the Orthodox tradition such images

[48] Cf. ll. 1245–1246 in Hostility's speech, ending scene 7: "Voyny, veděte ju [Love] ko stolpu kamennu: Tam otmščusja, tamo sotvorju zranennu."

[49] "*Anhel*: Se u stolpa straždet strasti" (l. 1291).

[50] Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 3: 30.

[51] "Voy, krest yznesěte y Ljubov voskorě Pryhvozdyvše postavte na onom pozorě." (ll. 1353–1354).

could have been known also from Cyril of Turov's sermons (twelfth century),[52] which were imitated in the Ukraine as late as the seventeenth century.[53]

Still another way of using the Scripture was in reminiscences and comparisons. This was based on the supposition that the audience knew the Bible well, and that biblical events called out in them certain responses and feelings, their mythological code, so to speak. Thus, in Tuptalo's play about the Virgin Mary's Dormition, Thomas, by then no longer doubting, compares (end of scene 4) an impudent man who wants to look into God's heart with the impudent Gideon. The audience knew that he was speaking about Gideon from the Book of Judges (chapters 6, 7, 8) who doubted God's justice and his own call to save the people of Israel until God gave him the signs he asked for.

A play about Saint Alexis's life[54] includes a scene in which a beggar brings Alexis's father the garments of his missing son (scene 5 of act one), reminiscent of a biblical scene in which Joseph's clothes were brought to Jacob. The monologue-lament of Alexis's father, Evfimian (ll. 908–932), is built not only on the similarity but even more on the distinctiveness from the biblical tale. Adopted are the plot and many verbal borrowings from the Bible. Evfimian's lament begins: "Ax! se est' ryza moeho syna Aleksěja!," whereas in Genesis (37:33) we read: "It is my son's coat." Therefore the allusion was evident to the audience from the outset. Then came the difference between this situation and Jacob's: "Myslyl bym, žes ot braty v rov voveržennyj! Movyl bym, žes ot braty v Ehypet prodanny, — Ales bratyi ne měl. . . . I dlja toho, hdy tvoju ryzu ohledaju, Barzej, nežely Yjakov, po tobě rydaju" — "I would have thought that thy brethren cast thee into a pit, I would say that thy brethren have sold thee to Egypt, but thou didst not have any brethren. . . . And it is why when I behold thy coat, I weep for thee more than Jacob" (ll. 912–916). Then two more negative parallelisms are distinguished: first, Jacob caused the tragedy himself because he had sent Joseph to the jealous brothers, whereas Alexis abandoned his old father of his own will; and second, Jacob found joy in his youngest son Benjamin, whereas he, Evfimian, has no other child to comfort him. Thus, reminiscences and correspondences with the biblical event served to intensify the drama on stage.

[52] Cf. J. P. Eremin, *Lekcii po drevnej russkoj literature* (Leningrad, 1968), pp. 85–86.
[53] Cf. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature,* p. 88.
[54] Text, Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 5: 123–87; commentary, ibid., pp. 4–47.

In 1703/1704, at the Kiev Academy there was performed a Polish play with the Latin title *Declamatio de Sanctae Catharinae Genio*,[55] based on the legendary life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. In the first scene (Inductio prima) of the Kiev play, St. Catherine's Genius argues with Earthly Love (Amor Terrestris). One of her speeches (ll. 95–132), rich with analogies to classical mythology, ends with a recollection of a dream in which she saw a virgin with an infant in her arms. She wants Earthly Love to explain the dream to her, to serve her "like Joseph," evidently a reference to Joseph's serving the pharaoh as an interpreter of dreams (Genesis 40: 8–23, and 41). The same play also has many allusions to the seeking bride in the *Song of Songs*. First St. Catherine's Genius receives advice from the Hermit to look for her beloved (l. 214), and then she tells Caesar, her tormentor, that her beloved (meaning Christ), who fashioned the wreath of liberty for her, sent a dove to feed her in the dungeon (ll. 1167–1168) — by the way, Christians interpreted the biblical dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. Later (ll. 1213–1216) she asks Caesar to start the torture on the wheel,[56] so as to precipitate the moment when she will see her beloved — Christ. Besides the motif from the *Song of Songs*, the playwright included in the speech of Catherine's Genius a quotation from John 13:27, namely, Christ's words to Judas: "That thou doest, do quickly." The bride's motif appears once more, when Caesar last tries to tempt Catherine's Genius with the proposition that she share the throne with him, and she responds that she is on her way to her beloved God, and to eternity (ll. 1354–1359). Besides allusions to the canonical books of the Bible, the author used at least one to the Apocrypha, the Old Testament book *Susanna and the Elders*: in the play's first scene, the choir of angels predicts that nothing will crush the spirit of the saintly maid who is even purer than Susanna (ll. 277–278).

The Kiev play about Saint Alexis presents another application of the Bible — namely, to hint at contemporary events and situations. The play was produced and performed to celebrate the nameday of Tsar Aleksej Mixailovič of Muscovy, at the time when Muscovy was expanding its influence. The performance took place 17 March 1673 or 1674, in the presence of the tsar's special envoy, Prince Jurij Trubeckoj, then *voevoda* of Kiev. The tsar's liking for stage performances was well known. Just the year before, the imperial theater had staged

[55] Text, Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 5: 239–92; commentary, ibid., pp. 84–121.

[56] Whence comes the English term "Catherine wheel," meaning a wheel with spikes projecting from the rim.

several biblical stories, from the canonical book of Esther and the apocryphal book of Judith, and the tale of Tobit the younger from the apocryphal book of Tobit. The Kiev play about St. Alexis was a panegyric implying that the tsar and Saint Alexis had similar virtues. The mixing of biblical events and contemporary reality occurred in the very first scene. There archangel Raphael speaks about angels as noblemen, courtiers of the heavens, each of whom has particular duties and charges (ll. 22–23): "Ne darmo nebesnye xlěb jadjat dvorjane: koždomu z nas svoe tut dělo sja dostane." Since he is in charge of happy marriages for righteous people, he mentions the marriage of Tobit the younger and Raguel's daughter as evidence of his achievements in only two lines (ll. 26–27): "Tovyj molodšemu z Rahuyla dočkoju vesele stalose ne kym, tolko mnoju." But for the eminent spectators in the Kiev audience who knew the repertoire of the tsar's court theater the connection was obvious. The Moscow play about Tobit the younger is lost, but its content can be deduced from West European and Polish plays, and from its primary source — the apocryphal book of Tobit. Mâle says that the story grew in popularity from the early fifteenth through the seventeenth century, together with the cult of archangel Raphael as the guardian angel. The book of Tobit was then viewed as a parable designed to commend piety and trust in God.[57] The reference in Raphael's speech, and the last lines of the prologue (ll. 14–17) dedicating the play "na slvu presvětlomu y blahočestyvomu carju Aleksěju, kotryj y v Bože y v svjatyx majučy naděju, Z nepryjatelem kresta Xrystova dělo začynaet, Ale . . . nyhdy ne prohraet,"[58] place the Kiev performance on the tsar's nameday within the situation of the time. As we know, in 1672 the Turks invaded the Ukraine, captured Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj, and approached Lviv. The Ukrainians' only hope seemed to be the Muscovite tsar, who permitted the Don Cossacks to attack the fortress of Azov. The book of Tobit is a tale about the suffering war brings to honest people, depicting the victory of righteousness as secured by God and the guardian angel. From extant plays about the lives of Esther and Judith that were staged in Moscow and their prologues[59] we may assume that the lost play about Tobit praised (in one way or

[57] Mâle, *L'art religieux,* pp. 307–308.
[58] "To the glory of His Highness, the pious tsar Aleksej, who put his hope in God and in the saints to contend in battle with the enemy of the cross of Christ, and who never will lose."
[59] Cf. *Rannjaja russkaja dramaturgija,* vol. 1: *Pervye p'esy russkogo teatra* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 12 and 351.

another) Tsar Aleksej as the defender and guardian of Christendom and righteous people. Hence the appropriateness of referring to the story of Tobit the younger in the Kiev nameday play.

⁂

The Bible's use by Ukrainian school playwrights and school theater producers that I have discussed here by examining the extant repertoire of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be confirmed by analysis of other extant eighteenth-century plays. It seems clear even now, however, that the Bible strongly affected the imagination, writing, and skills of the creators of art and literature in the Ukraine during the Baroque. This influence was no less there than in Western Europe. Indeed, it may have been greater, because Ukrainians relied less than their West European contemporaries on classical mythology, which was a new element in their culture, and more on the knowledge of the Bible that was part of their Orthodox tradition.

Harvard University

The Kiev Mohyla Academy in Relation to Polish Culture

RYSZARD ŁUŻNY

Scholarly research undertaken since the second half of the nineteenth century permits us to ascertain the place of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the history of the East Slavic cultures. The achievements of generations of scholars working in the Ukraine, Russia, and Poland, and hence representing nations particularly interested in the history of the academy, have made possible a recollection of different aspects of the academy's history. Thanks to their efforts, our knowledge is already substantial, if far from complete. Studies of the political history of the Ukraine, of the history of education, school systems, the church, and language and literature (particularly religious and polemic writings) shed light on the origin of the academy (the first of its kind in the East Slavic lands), the nature of its didactic process, and the role it played in the culture first of the Ukraine and then of Muscovy.[1]

The scope of knowledge about the academy increased after World War II, as scholarly research provided new information and made essential corrections. Scholars turned their attention toward those elements in the school's curriculum which are now defined as liberal arts and were then called *humaniora*. Closely reexamined were its lectures on rhetoric and poetics[2] and on philosophy and theology.[3] The

[1] See V. Askochenskii, *Kiev s drevneishym ego uchilishchem akademieiu* (Kiev, 1856); N. I. Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.* (Kiev, 1885); S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki,* vols. 1–2 (Kiev, 1883, 1898); idem, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii: Period domogilianskii* (Kiev, 1880); A. Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacyi zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899–1900); A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1938); Z. I. Khyzhniak, *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka akademiia* (Kiev, 1970).

[2] H. M. Syvokin', *Davni ukrains'ki poetyky* (Kharkiv, 1960); R. Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska: Z dziejów związków kulturalnych polsko-wschodniosłowiańskich XVII–XVIII w.* (Cracow, 1966); P. Lewin, *Wykłady poetyki w uczelniach rosyjskich XVIII w. (1722–1774) a tradycje polskie* (Wrocław, 1972).

[3] V. M. Nichik, *Feofan Prokopovich* (Moscow, 1977); idem, *Iz istorii otechestvennoi filosofii kontsa XVII-nachala XVIII v.* (Kiev, 1978).

reexamination changed our concepts about intellectual life in the Ukrainian and Russian lands, as new ideas emerged about the intellectual interests and aesthetic orientations of local elites at the end of the old era and during the transition to modern times.

These studies brought out clearly the part contemporary West European traditions, based on the classic and medieval heritage, played in the development of the Kiev Academy. Particularly evident became the influence on the Kiev school of cultural values formulated in Polish lands. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Baroque came to much of this area in a modified Polish form, made more "familiar" by being Slavic. When we speak about the so-called Polish impact on the culture of another nation, we must remember that this "Polishness" was frequently reducible to the functions of intermediary or transmitter of West European influences over two centuries. Western values could penetrate eastward and be adapted and assimilated by national cultures there because they had already been tested and accepted on the banks of the Vistula, Bug, Neman, and Dniester.

The Kiev Mohyla Academy was destined to have a highly visible role in this process which in some areas was decisive. As the first academic institution of its kind in Eastern Europe, it became the center of an entire intellectual milieu. The impact of its activities was not confined to the Ukrainian territories along the Dnieper, but spread out in concentric circles, so to speak, to all Ukrainian and Belorussian lands, Muscovy, and, indeed, all of Eastern Slavdom.

Several confluent factors shaped the academy and its work. To begin, the Kiev Academy was first organized as a *collegium* jointly by the school of the Kiev Brotherhood and that of Peter Mohyla at the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. It was founded in 1632, when all the Ukrainian lands, including Kiev, were part of the Commonwealth of two (strictly speaking three) nations. Although the political situation on these territories soon changed radically, the character of the school vested in it by its founder persisted through the entire seventeenth and a good part of the eighteenth century. Indeed, at that time there was no other pattern for the academy to follow. The university, as created in medieval Europe and modified during the Renaissance to provide a humanistic, "philosophical" education to prospective clergymen and educators, came to the territory of the Polish Crown and Lithuania in the form of Jesuit colleges. Their model determined the organization

of the Kiev Academy,[4] its educational program, and its language of instruction. Although the academy's founder set its purpose as being to educate clergy and laymen to defend the "true faith," that is, Orthodoxy, so as to enable them to polemicize with "Latins" and Uniates, and to propagate the native Ruthenian culture and language, the institution was obliged to begin functioning as a non-national, non-denominational, and all-European establishment, like other schools of the Commonwealth. The academy started out as a Polish version of the general, West European model. This was apparent in the languages in use there, in its general cultural orientation, and, above all, in the fields of poetics, rhetoric, and philosophy. The use of Latin as the language of instruction and of Polish alongside the native Slavic language allowed for the free exchange of students, professors, and texts between the Kiev Academy and the schools of the Commonwealth and even those of Western Europe. Thus, before school manuals were produced locally in Kiev, use was made of lectures written by professors or noted down by students in the academies of Vilnius, Lviv, Poznań, and Kalisz. Some of these manuscripts were found in old Kiev book collections and described by M. Petrov.[5] Kiev students frequently continued their education in Lithuania, Poland, or Western Europe; among such students Symeon (Simeon) Polots'kyi, Lazar Baranovych, Stefan Iavors'kyi, Theophan Prokopovych, and Varlaam Iasyns'kyi. Many returned to their alma mater as teachers and scholars and transmitted to their students the philological and philosophical knowledge they had acquired in the West.

A good indication of the Polish and generally Western influences on both students and professors at the Kiev Academy is their book collections, which also testify to the scope of their lectures and professional interests. Although data are still very sparse, we do have some definite information about at least the most prominent and best known personalities. Thus we know, for instance, that the libraries of Symeon

[4] The academy had a curriculum of first five and then seven subjects, ranging from grammar and syntax to poetics, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. The organization of its administration, faculty, and degrees was similar to those of Jesuit schools.

[5] N. I. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisei Cerkovno-arkheologicheskogo muzeia pri Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, nos. 1–2 (Kiev, 1875–77); N. I. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, nos. 1–3 (Moscow, 1891–1904).

Polots'kyi,[6] Lavrentii Horka,[7] and Stefan Iavors'kyi[8] included many Latin and Polish books. Since these individuals were clergy of the highest rank — preachers and writer-polemicists — the bulk of their collections were naturally works on philosophy and theology, books of devotion and moral reflection, and liturgical texts. But there were also works by the church fathers, manuals and lexicons, and works by a host of ancient, medieval, Renaissance and contemporary historians, chroniclers, orators and poets, philosophers, and erudites.

Symeon Polots'kyi, for instance, owned and constantly referred to Polish editions of Jakub Wujek's *Bible,* Piotr Skarga's *Lives of the Saints,* Jan Kochanowski's *David's Psalter,* Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (the Polish adaptation by Piotr Kochanowski), as well as to works of Lazar Baranovych and homiletic collections. His reference books include Maciej Stryjkowski's and Marcin Bielski's chronicles, Samuel Twardowski's historical poems, Wespazjan Kochowski's writings, Szymon Starowolski's *Dwór cesarza tureckiego,* Łukasz Górnicki's *Dworzanin polski,* and Bartłomiej Paprocki's *Koło rycerskie.* Evidence of Polots'kyi's thorough readings are the markings in the margins of these books as well as the references to them in his own writings.[9]

Stefan Iavors'kyi, the Ukrainian poet and preacher who later became "curator of the patriarch's seat" of the Russian Orthodox church, owned almost exclusively Latin and Polish books.[10] He collected not only Catholic devotional, hagiographic, homiletic, philosophical and theological writings, but also works of fiction. In his library Jan Pisarski's *Mówca polski,* Jan Kwiatkiewicz's *Phoenix rhetorum* and Bieniasz Budny's *Apophtegmata philosophorum* stood side-by-side. Next to them might have been poems by L. Baranovych, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, Jan Kochanowski, and Samuel Twardowski. Although information on the book collections of other prominent members of Kiev's learned circles is meager, the writings of L. Horka,

[6] O. I. Bilets'kyi (Beletskii), *Stikhotvoreniia Simeona Polotskogo na temy iz vseobshchei istorii* (Kharkiv, 1914); idem, *Materialy do vyvchennia istorii ukrains'koi literatury v piaty tomakh,* vol. 1: *Symeon Polots'kyi ta ukrains'ke pys'menstvo XVII st.* (Kiev, 1959).

[7] *Chernigovskie èparkhial'nye vedomosti,* 1865, no. 2.

[8] S. I. Maslov, *Biblioteka Stefana Iavorskogo* (Kiev, 1914; reprinted from *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-letopistsa,* vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 99–162.

[9] See Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 18–19.

[10] R. Łużny, "Stefan Jaworski — poeta nieznany," *Slavia Orientalis* 16, no. 4 (1967): 363–76; idem, "Twórczość Stefana Jaworskiego, czyli raz jeszcze o baroku wschodniosłowiańskim," in *Języki i literatury wschodniosłowiańskie: Materiały ogólno-polskiej konferencji naukowej, Łódź, 14–15 czerwca 1976,* Uniwersytet Łódzki, Instytut Filologii Rosyjskiej (Łódź, 1976), pp. 103–114.

Dmytro (Dimitrii) Tuptalo-Rostovs'kyi, and T. Prokopovych[11] show that Polish authors had considerable impact on their intellectual horizons and aesthetic tastes.

Even better evidence of the all-European, pro-Western, and mainly Polono-Latin orientation of Kievan writers and scholars is provided by their lectures on poetics, rhetoric, and philosophy, which have survived to our own day. In organization, subject matter, scope, and academic level, they are analogous to courses of study in contemporary European, particularly Polish, schools. Certainly there were modifications, for at an East European, Orthodox school, local needs and conditions had to be considered. Also, there the teaching of these disciplines was at its height during the first decades of the eighteenth century — that is, much later than in Western educational institutions. Nevertheless, there were substantial similarities, so much so that practices at the Kiev Mohyla Academy were a fairly accurate copy of the way the same subjects were taught at other European colleges. This model remained essentially unchanged for a century, from the 1630s and 1640s until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Differences that did occur were variations in the amount of attention paid to some theoretical problems regarding poetry or rhetoric. Also, over time and with the development of cultural life on the Ukrainian lands, the aesthetic and intellectual orientations of professors and students became subject to change. Thus from the earliest writings of Symeon Polots'kyi (1646–1653) to Metrophan Dovhalevs'kyi's lectures *Hortus poeticus* (1737) to Heorhii Konys'kyi's *Praecepta de arte poetica* (1746), the development of the Kievan "theory of literature" can be discerned, in both its lasting and transitory aspects.

Theoretical knowledge and practical skill in the "art of words" was defined by the European tradition, which was connected with the names Vida, Scaliger, and Pontan. In the Polish language this tradition was enhanced by the work of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, outstanding erudite, philologist, and poet.[12] Thanks to Sarbiewski, Polish schools adopted not only the ancient, classical, and contemporary European and neo-Latin tradition, but also native Polish poetry, which consequently rose to comparable authority and artistic merit. This

[11] See I. A. Shliapkin, *Sv. Dimitrii Rostovskii i ego vremia (1651–1709)* (St. Petersburg, 1891); A. Buevskii, *Èpizody iz zhizni osnovatelia viatskoi seminarii* (Viatka, 1899); R. Łużny, "Teofan Prokopowicz a literatura polska," *Slavia Orientalis* 14, no. 3 (1965): 331–45.
[12] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 27–28.

European-Polish heritage was fully accepted by the theoreticians and writers of the Kiev Academy. In time, it was enriched at first by new Polish literature and then by the Kievans' own writings in the Polish, Slavonic, and Ukrainian languages.

The Kievans accepted the ancient and classical heritage of Europe, together with the achievements of the European Renaissance and Baroque and Polish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter they long regarded as a common "Slavic" property which tested whether it was possible to express in their native tongues the lofty ideas expressed in Latin by Vergil, Horace, and Cicero.

Throughout the seventeenth century, poetics and rhetoric at the Kiev school were quite modest in scope. Few Polish poets or orators of that time or the preceding century were then known in Kiev, so Polish authors and texts were cited infrequently. Those that were formed a permanent repertoire that was seldom expanded. For instance, the handwritten manuals[13] *Fons Castalius* (1685), *Rosa inter spinas* (1686), *Comoena in Parnasso* (1689), and *Citheron bivertex* (1695) include only the names of Jan Kochanowski and M. K. Sarbiewski. Sarbiewski was an esteemed literary theorist, an influential teacher (at academies in Vilnius and Polatsk), and an outstanding Latin poet who was deservedly known as "the Polish Horace." Kochanowski, in turn, was placed by Sarbiewski himself in the pantheon of "classical writers," as the only non-Latin poet worthy of that rank.

Excerpts from Jan Kochanowski's poems *Dziewosłąb* and *Pieśń świętojańska o Sobótce,* and from the cycles *Pieśni* and *Treny* were used at the Kiev Academy to illustrate varying verse structures. Kiev professors found Sarbiewski's lyrics to be excellent examples for the explanation of such literary genres as ode, epic poem, and epigram as well as for the investigation of stylistic problems. They also used anonymous Polish epigrams in their own verses and talks, while simultaneously reaching out for new works and names. Thus, alongside quotations from Sarbiewski and Kochanowski, there began to appear references to verses by Albert Ines, Stanisław Niewieski, Wespazjan Kochowski, and Samuel Twardowski, as well as to newer, anonymous writings (not identified to the present day).[14] Over several decades, at lectures on poetics at the Kiev Academy future Ukrainian writers were introduced to the Polish Baroque, especially the works of

[13] Syvokin', *Davni ukrains'ki poetyky*; Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 31–47.
[14] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* p. 40 and passim.

Kochanowski, Sarbiewski, and Twardowski. Hence one can say that a certain "Polonization" of philological disciplines took place at the Kiev Academy at the end of the seventeenth century. It is difficult to determine how much of that was absorbed directly from school manuals or textbooks that came from Poland, from attendance at schools in Lithuania and Poland, or from personal reading and study. In any case, the popularization of contemporary Slavic poetry and the training of Kiev students in writing through excerpts from Polish works established a lasting tradition, one that was particularly important because a fully vernacular Ukrainian secular literature was not to appear for another century.

Essential changes, although still within "Polonization" tendencies, occurred only after 1705. Then philology began to be taught at the Kiev Academy by Theophan Prokopovych, outstanding poet and theoretician, later publicist, church leader, and statesman. The year 1705 was also a turning point in the history of the academy in general, marking the real beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1694, the institution, until then actually a school, acquired the right to teach theology and thus formally became an academy.[15] Only later, in the second half of the century, did it develop into a strictly clerical academy with strong Russianizing tendencies. The years just after 1705–1706, when Prokopovych's activities as a writer and educator in Kiev were most intensive,[16] were vital in the intellectual and artistic life of the Ukraine. The Kiev Academy, then at the height of its intellectual vigor, stood at the center of this development.

Before Prokopovych's *De arte poetica libri tres,* lectures at the academy — namely, Ilarion Iaroshevyts'kyi's *Cedrus Apollinis* and *Arbor Tuliana* — still followed the old seventeenth-century tradition. Rhetoric and poetry were taught exclusively through classic examples from Latin and Polish speeches, letters, epic poems, epigrams, and lyric songs. But Iaroshevyts'kyi also perceived the virtues and significance of local, native patterns. He referred to letters written in the Slavonic language, and quoted from panegyrics to Hetman Ivan Mazepa.[17] He composed an epic poem[18] which presented the history of

[15] Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska,* pp. 172 and 206.
[16] N. I. Petrov, "O slovesnykh naukakh i literaturnykh zaniatiiakh v Kievskoi akademii ot nachala ee do preobrazovaniia v 1819 g.," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii,* 1866, nos. 7, 11, 12; 1867, no. 1; 1868, no. 3. D. Vishnevskii, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII stoletiia* (Kiev, 1903).
[17] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 50 ff.
[18] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 53–54.

Poland in quatrains written in exemplary Polish.[19] His lectures first acquainted the Kiev milieu with the greatest old Polish epic, Piotr Kochanowski's version of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.

As poet and teacher, Theophan Prokopovych did not radically break with established tradition, but rather substantially modified it. He himself was a graduate of the Kiev school who had gone on to study in Poland and in Rome. As a lecturer at the Kiev Academy, Prokopovych relied on the standard theoretical material, but he also made changes and selected more material from contemporary writings, including his own works. His lectures were characterized by strong criticism of Polish Baroque eloquence and poetry. Prokopovych dropped from them discussion of artificial, contrived poetry (*poesis curiosa*), which had been standard and elaborate in earlier lectures. He was openly negative about the grandiloquent and "pseudopoetic" style of the leading seventeenth-century Polish orators. His critical judgment of not only such now forgotten Polish-Latin authors as Andrzej Kanon and Jan Kwiatkiewicz, but also of the well-known Tomasz Młodzianowski and even Piotr Skarga was severe.

But not even Pokopovych — rigorous critic of Polish Baroque writers, advocate of clear style, determined opponent of highbrow Latino-Jesuit scholasticism, defender of the Orthodox church and enemy of Catholicism, and forerunner of the Enlightenment[20] — not even he could dispense wholly with the tradition he himself judged so critically. While in his lectures on rhetoric Prokopovych used Polish writings exclusively as objects of critical analysis, harsh polemics, and even mockery, in his lectures on poetics he not only demonstrated an amazingly good knowledge of Polish poetry, but expressed general approval of it. Prokopovych himself did two parallel translations of the Eighth Elegy of Ovid's *Tristia,* into Polish and into the Slavonic language.[21] While lecturing on epigrams, he cited, alongside his own composed in Latin, four Polish epigrams, incorrectly attributing two of them ("For Duda" and "For Krupa") to Jan Kochanowski. In discussing problems of poetic theory and practice, he turned again and again to Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata,* with the explanation that he was quoting "polonice, sicut eum exposuit rarus poeta polonus Kochanowski."

Prokopopych's approaches and methodology were evident in subse-

[19] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* p. 57.
[20] See Nichik, "Feofan Prokopovich," especially pp. 88–130 (chap. 2), on the problems of gnosis in Prokopovych's writings.
[21] Łużny, "Teofan Prokopowicz," p. 336.

quent lectures on poetics and rhetoric at the Kiev Academy. His successors, Lavrentii Horka (*Idea artis poeseos,* 1707), Mitrophan Dovhalevs'kyi (*Hortus poeticus,* 1737), and Heorhii Konys'kyi, adopted his teaching in different ways, but they changed neither its basic substance or orientation.[22] And indeed, despite Prokopovych's harsh criticism, members of the Kiev Academy did not cease to take note of the "curious poetry" or to cite examples from Polish Baroque writings, particularly oratory art and homilies. But gradually, Prokopovych's postulate to introduce new, local, and Ukrainian literary material was heeded. In time his literary opinions and judgments were fully accepted, with only slight supplementation. A visible stabilization and even deterioration took place, as Polish literature, educational institutions, and culture began to stagnate in the first half of the eighteenth century and then to decline. Thus Kievans were constrained to look back to the Polish Renaissance and Baroque. They, not unlike their predecessors in the previous century, regarded these as a fiducial era whose literary achievements, along with the classics and some new Latin poetry, were models worthy of emulation.

This revered Polish heritage comprised, above all, the works of Jan Kochanowski, who, as in the preceding century, was considered a model poet. In Kiev his poetic adaptation of the *Psalter* was read and discussed, and his poems and short rhymes — the so-called *fraszki* — were pointed to as exemplary epigrams. Even anonymous epigrams or ones by other authors were attributed to him. Particularly popular in Kiev were several lyric poems from the cycle *Pieśni* and his witty short poem *Raki.* At the Kiev Academy his name came to exemplify Polish poetry in general, and Kievans referred to Kochanowski's work in any discussion of creative writing.

At times Jan Kochanowski's nephew, Piotr, was mistaken for the great master. Thanks to Prokopovych's lectures on poetics, in Kiev, Piotr acquired the reputation of being an authority on epic narration. His Polish translation of Tasso's great Renaissance poem about the holy war enjoyed great success in the Ukraine. Not only was it read and commented on, but there were attempts to translate and imitate it in both Ukrainian and Polish.[23]

[22] R. Łużny (Luzhnii), "'Poètika' Feofana Prokopovicha i teoriia poèzii v Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii (pervaia polovina XVIII veka)," in *Rol' i znachenie literatury XVIII veka v istorii russkoi kul'tury: K 70-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia chlena-korrespondenta AN SSSR P. N. Berkova* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), pp. 47–53.

[23] R. Łużny, "'Gofred' Tassa-Kochanowskiego na Rusi w wieku XVII–XVIII," in *W kręgu "Gofreda" i "Orlanda": Księga pamiątkowa sesji naukowej Piotra Kochanowskiego (w Krakowie, dnia 4–6 kwietnia 1967)* (Wrocław, 1970), pp. 119–130.

In the eighteenth century Kievans also eagerly turned to the works of Samuel Twardowski, especially his epic poem *Wojna domowa* and the cycle *Miscellanea.* These were read and reread not only for their narrative virtues and Baroque characteristics, but also for their moral values and "local" subject matter, namely, the Polish-Cossack War. Twardowski, along with Piotr Kochanowski, had the most perceptible impact on the original work of Kievan poets.

Prokopovych ignored Sarbiewski's poetry in his lectures. Nonetheless, Sarbiewski's Latin poems were long considered to be models of high style, whose masterful use of metaphor was worthy of imitation. Classical epigrams, neo-Latin poetry, and Polish verse combined to be the source of the texts cited, imitated, and adapted in a local poetry, which was written for specific occasions.

Courses of poetics had sections devoted to the art of "verse making." At first the students were instructed from Polish texts, then later from Ukrainian materials and in the eighteenth century from Russian texts as well. For some time the non-Latin literary works of Kievan professors, cited in the lectures, were written almost exclusively in Polish (including translations from Latin). Only in the eighteenth century did their use of Slavonic and Ukrainian increase at the cost of Polish.

The religious polemicists Kasiian Sakovych, Meletii Smotryts'kyi, Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi and Sylvester Kossov, and other writers permanently associated with the milieu of the Kiev Academy — of whom Varlaam Iasins'kyi and Dmytro Tuptalo-Rostovs'kyi were outstanding and the most prolific — wrote in Polish, and their works in this language were sometimes interesting and abundant. A good example is Symeon Polots'kyi's early creative period, first at the Kiev Academy, then at Polish schools and at the monastery in Polatsk. Even later, in Muscovy, he sometimes wrote in Polish, particularly letters and verses. The manuscript book with Polots'kyi's autographs now in the Central Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow (the collection of the Sinod Typography, fond 381,1800) contains good examples of his Polish writings from 1648–1663. Especially interesting are his Polish verse-translation of the long hymn *Akathistos to the Saint Virgin,* supplemented with excerpts from J. Kochanowski's *David's Psalter,* and the versified, satirical *Desperacya króla szwedzkiego,* which relates the checkered events of the Polish-Swedish war and the so-called Deluge (1655). These poems, together with other religious and secular verses (including fables), testify to the young poet's

masterful skills and erudition. They provide an entrée into the formative years and the Weltanschauung of the man who became the foremost Russian Baroque poet.[24]

Another Kiev poet, Lazar Baranovych, wrote almost exclusively in Polish. His two most interesting collections, *Lutnia Apollinowa* (1671) and *Apollo chrześcijański* (1670), contain poems that rise above the average Baroque rhyme. The works of this Kievan writer characterize how the Polish and Ukrainian literary spheres converged in the seventeenth century.[25]

Polish texts can also be found among the writings of Theophan Prokopovych. He used the Polish language in discussing poetics and in preaching. For instance, his collection of sermons entitled *Orationes asceticae,* is in exemplary Polish. Prokopovych's best poetic work, a panegyric commemorating the battle of Poltava in 1709, was written and published simultaneously in three versions: Latin, Polish, and Ukrainian Slavonic. Prokopovych's Polish was not only faultless, but gave full rein to the language's stylistic and metric possibilities and to the richness of its vocabulary. Thus his Polish panegyric on Poltava, entitled *Epinicium, albo Pieśń triumfalna o tejże przesławnej wiktoryji,* bears comparison with the best Polish narrative epic poetry of that time.[26]

Finally, the poetry of the only writer from the Kiev Academy to be called *poeta laureatus,* Stepan Iavors'kyi,[27] was written in Polish and Latin. Iavors'kyi was an excellent stylist and orator who knew how to exploit all the possibilities of Baroque poetics in the Polish literature of the time, and mastered this style.

The Polish writings of Kievan authors should be studied both in the context of Ukrainian literature and as instances of the multilateral relations between this literature and Polish literature and culture. Also, the works of the most prominent of these authors can to some extent be recognized as facets of Polish literature, Ukrainian-Polish literature, or, in a broader sense, of Slavic cultural symbiosis.

The factors discussed here were, of course, only one part in the development of Ukrainian literary life. Undoubtedly, however, they

[24] See Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 109–128 ("Polska twórczość pisarzy z kręgu Akademii") and pp. 147–49 (appendix).
[25] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp.128–34 and pp. 150–56 (appendix).
[26] Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 134–41 and pp. 157–61 (appendix).
[27] See the studies cited in fn. 10; they contain extensive excerpts of Iavors'kyi's poems from seventeenth-century publications which are now bibliographical rarities.

were the most emphatic manifestation of Polish influence on the intellectual evolution of the Ukrainian lands, and confirm once again the immense role of literature in culture as a whole. For alongside the literary processes went the development of aesthetic consciousness, practical writing skills, theoretical knowledge of literature, humanistic inquiry, academic organization, oratory, preaching, art, and playwriting. Only when brought together can these phenomena define cultural formation in a certain region in a given epoch. As yet we do not know some of the particulars of this process — namely, the Kievan milieu's philosophical and theological views. We also lack information about thought there in its relation to European currents. Valeria Nichik's recent studies[28] aim to explain the role of the philosophical disciplines in the educational system of the Kiev school. Her achievements give us hope that further research, especially if it considers the Kiev Academy's relationship to Polish schools, will open new vistas in Polish-Ukrainian cultural history. For although the Kiev Academy and its milieu is the most important, it is by no means the only component in the broader process which encompassed all spheres of intellectual life on the Ukrainian lands at the time. Studies of literary Ukrainian-Polish relations in this epoch can provide us with an array of important and significant data[29] about this broader cultural process.

In the eighteenth century Ukrainian culture entered a phase of Europeanization, due especially to Polish mediation. At the same time, however, this culture maintained its own distinctive features, an originality based on seven centuries of East Slavic and Orthodox spiritual life. It displayed a maturity and readiness to absorb the modern values of mankind.

In considering specifically Polish-Ukrainian cultural ties, we must remember that the reciprocity also went from East to West — examples are the rich "Roxolanian" tradition in Old Polish literature during the Renaissance and Baroque, the "Ruthenian" current in Polish intellectual culture and Polish language of the eighteenth cen-

[28] See the studies of Valeria Nichik cited in fn. 3, which are the first to deal with this topic.

[29] See R. Łużny, "Zarys dziejów literatury ukraińskiej," in the collection *Ukraina: Teraźniejszość i przeszłość,* ed. M. Karaś and A. Podraza, *Prace Historyczne,* no. 32 (Cracow, 1970), pp. 355–401, especially pp. 372–74; R. Łużny, "Dawne piśmiennictwo ukraińskie a polskie tradycje," in the collection *Z dziejów stosunków literackich polsko-ukraińskich,* ed. S. Kozak and M. Jakóbiec (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 7–36, especially pp. 27–32.

tury, and finally the so-called Ukrainian school in the great literature of Polish Romanticism, including the works of Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Malczewski.

Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Translated from the Polish by Dr. Paulina Lewin

The Kiev Mohyla Collegium and Seventeenth-Century Polish-English Literary Contacts: A Polish Translation of Henry Montagu's *Manchester al Mondo*

ROMAN KOROPECKYJ

In the small number of scholarly studies dealing with the reception of English-language literature in Old Poland,[1] no mention is made of a book which appeared in 1648 under the title *Manchester al mondo: Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis.*[2] The book deserves scrutiny for several reasons. Above all, it is one of the first (if not the first) extant translations of an English-language work into Polish.[3] Furthermore, as the dedication to Adam Kysil (Kisiel) indicates, the text was appar-

* I would like to express my thanks to Professor Frank E. Sysyn whose encouragement and extensive knowledge of the period in question contributed much to the undertaking and completion of this study. I also thank Dr. Paulina Lewin, Ms. Katherine Pantzer, and Professor Wiktor Weintraub for their valuable suggestions.

[1] See, for instance, W. Borowy, "What Was Known in Old Poland of English Literature and English Theater," *Warsaw Weekly,* 6 November 1937; W. Weintraub, "Staropolskie tłumaczenie Bunyuna," in his *Od Reja do Boya* (Warsaw, 1977); and Urszula Szumska, *Anglia a Polska w epoce humanizmu: Związki kulturalne* (Lviv, 1938). Szumska's study, although full of factual information, is also replete with errors and inaccuracies and must, therefore, be consulted with care.

[2] The title page reads in full as follows: *Manchester al mondo. Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis. Rozmyślanie o śmierci y nieśmiertelności. Z angielskiego języka na polski przetłumaczone przez B. Viktorina Euthanaziusza S.S.T. Anno Domini 1648.* Cf. Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska,* 34 vols. (Cracow, 1872–1951), 16: 110. The work was republished in 1855 by Aleksander Batowski for the Ossolineum, Lviv. This edition was, unfortunately, unavailable to me.

[3] There exist, of course, numerous Old Polish translations of such British Neo-Latin writers as the Welshman John Owen and the Scot John Barclay. Cf. Borowy, "What Was Known," and W. Weintraub, "Łacińskie podłoże polskiej literatury XVI wieku," in his *Od Reja do Boya,* especially pp. 30–32. Szumska (*Anglia a Polska,* pp. 110–11) and Borowy (in his article "Prześladowani katolicy angielscy i szkoccy, w Polsce XVI wieku," *Przegląd Powszechny* 219 [1938]: 121) both note a work entitled *Okrucieństwo kacarskie przeciw katholikom w Anglijej krótko a prawdziwie przez jednego tegoż narodu opisane a na polski język przełożone* (Cracow, 1582); cf. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska,* 23, pt. 2: 313. They do not,

ently translated at the Mohyla Collegium (later Academy) in Kiev. Discussion of the book may thus shed some light on aspects of intellectual life at the collegium in 1648, and on its role in the cultural activity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth century.

The book is a translation of an English work bearing the same title: *Manchester al Mondo: Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis.* The author of the original, Sir Henry Montagu (1563?–1642), First Earl of Manchester, in the course of his long life occupied a number of high offices (among them Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Treasurer of England, and Lord Privy Seal), first at the court of James I and later under Charles I.[4] The Earl of Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion,* praises him for his "industry and sagacity," "integrity and zeal to the Protestant religion as it was established by law," and "unquestionable loyalty."[5] As a judge Manchester resolutely enforced laws against both Puritans and Papists. His most noteworthy contributions were, however, in the area of the kingdom's finances, both during his tenure as Lord Treasurer and as a member of several trade commissions. For his services to the Crown, Montagu was made Baron Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville by James I (1620), and Earl of Manchester by Charles I (1626). Finally, it is noteworthy that during his term as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Montagu's personal chaplain was the famous preacher Thomas Adams.[6]

Aside from a few speeches and letters published posthumously,[7] Montagu is the author of only one work, namely, *Al Mondo.* It first appeared unofficially in 1631 (twice), without the name of the author. The first authorized edition, published in 1633, bears the name of the author, Manchester, to which is added "al Mondo." A second "much inlarged" edition was published in 1635. Subsequent editions, many also claiming to be much enlarged, were largely reprints of the 1635

---

however, speculate whether the work is, in fact, a translation directly from the English.

4 My sketch of Montagu is based on the fullest biographic account to date, provided by John E. Baily in his introduction to *Manchester Al Mondo* (London, 1880), pp. vii–lxiv. See also *The Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*) (Oxford, 1921–1922), s.v. "Montagu, Henry"; and Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* ed. Thomas Park, 5 vols. (London, 1806), 2: 340–47.

5 Cited in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors,* 2: 342–43.

6 Cf. Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600–1660* (Oxford, 1946), p. 298.

7 Cf. *DNB,* s.v. "Montagu, Henry." Portions of Montagu's letter to his son, a convert to Catholicism, were published in *Royal and Noble Authors,* 2: 343–47.

edition.[8] In all, there are over twenty recorded printings of the book, the most recent appearing in 1902.[9]

If at first glance the relatively large number of editions seem to attest to the book's popularity, one must nevertheless keep in mind that books of this sort were extremely popular in the first half of the seventeenth century.[10] So-called devotional books, such as Michael Sparke's *The Crums of Comfort* (1623), Robert Bolton's *Some General Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God* (1624), and John Clarke's *Holy Incense for the Censers of the Saints* (1634), sometimes exceeded thirty reprintings within a quarter century.[11] These were largely prayer books, books for meditation, or compendiums of moral and ethical prescriptions meant as supplementary readings to the Bible.[12] During this period of flourishing Protestant sectarianism, with its stress on personal, subjective religion, books of devotional prose constituted the reading staple of most literate households.[13]

Manchester's contribution to this market is an extended tract on death and dying, a subject which obsessed the seventeenth-century mind. In the space of forty-two chapters, with such titles as "The Nature of Death," "Life But a Dying Death," "The Joys Brought by Death," "The First Step of Dying Well," etc., the author treats in thorough detail almost every aspect of man's passing from this vale of tears and temptation into life everlasting. He discourses upon what death is, its advantages over life, its various forms and manifestations, and the joys and release which it brings. Montagu explains how to prepare oneself for death, how to accept it joyfully, and how to die properly. The last of the four parts draws a fanciful picture of bliss in the afterlife and the raptures of the soul freed from life's temptations. An excerpt from the chapter "Freedom of Death" provides a typical example of both the style and the concerns of *Manchester al Mondo*:

[8] Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xliii–lvii. Baily describes in detail the printings of 1631, 1633, and 1635, as well as the subsequent editions of 1636, 1638, 1642, 1655 (in which the Latin sentences are rendered into English), 1658, 1661, 1666, 1667, 1676, 1688, and 1690.

[9] Cf. *The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1963), s.v. "Montagu, Henry."

[10] Cf. Bush, *English Literature,* pp. 294–95.

[11] Bush, *English Literature,* p. 295. The most detailed study of devotional prose is Helen C. White's *English Devotional Literature (Prose): 1600–1640* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1931).

[12] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 150–70.

[13] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 9–68. For a discussion of Puritanism during this period, see M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939).

Adeo juvat occupatum mori. Here I have labour without rest, there I shall have rest without labour. In this rest perfect tranquility, in this tranquility contentment, in this contentment joy, in this joy variety, in this variety security, in this security eternity; so to rest, to rise, to reigne, what more to be wished.

(E., 60)[14]

Although the subject matter, its exhaustive treatment, the didactic yet intimate tone, as well as some other features are all characteristic of seventeenth-century devotional literature, *Manchester al Mondo* diverges from the mainstream in several ways. Devotional books were primarily intended for the average reader and as a consequence their style was often colloquial, direct, and eschewed rhetorical as well as philosophical intricacies.[15] Manchester's tract, on the other hand, is the work of a sophisticated layman and does not appear to have been meant for the mass reader.[16] Though the book's style is generally lucid and serene, the text is heavily interlaced with Latin words and phrases — a feature atypical for English prose of the period.[17] Atypical, too, for popular devotional prose is the system of references Montagu used. Aside from quotations from the Bible and the church fathers, there are numerous citations from classical authors (besides the favorite, Seneca, one encounters such sages as Plato, Zeno, Cato, as well as sayings attributed to heroes of antiquity) and even from the moderns (for instance, Luther).[18] Moreover, Manchester avoids the terrifying visions of fire and brimstone which were almost *de rigeur* for popular devotional literature,[19] but rather inappropriate in a work meant for consolation. On the contrary, alongside the author's metaphysical musings the book, particularly in the last section entitled "The Rapture of the Soul," is suffused with intimations of mysticism, a tendency rarely encountered in popular devotional prose.[20]

In the postscript to the edition of 1666, the publishers of *Manchester*

[14] All quotations from the English edition in the original orthography are from *Manchester al Mondo. Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis,* The fourth Impression much inlarged, printed by John Haviland for Francis Constable (London, 1638). In the text page numbers to this edition are preceded by the letter "E."

[15] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 222–44.

[16] In fact, considering that the work was first published anonymously from a circulating manuscript, it may be surmised that *Al Mondo* was originally not intended for publication. Cf. Baily, "Introduction," p. xliii.

[17] For a discussion of the development of English prose style, see Robert Adolph, *The Rise of Modern Prose Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

[18] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 156–57. See also Bush, *English Literature,* p. 312.

[19] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 192–94.

[20] White, *English Devotional Literature,* pp. 195, 223.

al Mondo (Richard and James Thrale) praise the work as "an excellent preparative and warning for the dissolution of our selves." As the first book to be printed in London after the disastrous (particularly for booksellers) fire of 1666, "this Book comes now to follow each man in the midst of jollity and pleasure with a memento, *Te esse mortale,* and that he shall shortly see himself dust." The publishers add that *Al Mondo* is "a serious and good book" and "the sum of what [ministers] may recommend to [their] people."[21] *Manchester al Mondo* is, then, the work of an erudite and devout statesman which, while retaining characteristics of an earlier period, rises above the average devotional book. In this respect, Montagu's tract is reminiscent of such works as Christopher Sutton's *Disce mori. Learn to Die. A Religious Discourse* (1600), and Jeremy Taylor's *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), with which it often shared the same pew at funerals.[22]

The popularity of Manchester's work in his native England was not sufficient, however, to guarantee its recognition on the continent. In fact, Victorinus Euthanasius's commendable rendition into Polish is, to my knowledge, the only extant translation of *Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis* into any language. The text of the Polish translation of the complete and unabridged English original is preceded by four introductory pieces. They are, in order of appearance: (1) a dedication in Latin to "Illustrissimo ac Magnifico Dn. Adamo a Brusilow Kisiel Domino & Haeredi in Huszcza Gnoino & Kisielgrod Palatino Braclaviensi Capitaneo Noszoviae etc. Domino Observandissimo," signed by "Fra. Victorinus Euthanasius, in Collegio Mohil. Kiou, S.S.T." (P., i);[23] (2) a preface in Polish, "Ad lectorem" (P., ii–iv); (3) a Latin poem entitled "In Effigiem Authoris" (P., v); and (4) a Latin elegy bearing the title "In versionem: Contemplatio mortis & immortalitatis," followed by the initials "J. C." (P., vi).

Although the dedicatory page gives the place of origin of at least the introductory parts as the Mohyla Collegium in Kiev, the title page provides no information about the printing house which issued the translation.[24] A comparison of the type with other Latin-alphabet texts

[21] Quoted in Baily, "Introduction," pp. li–liv.
[22] Cf. Baily, "Introduction," p. viii. See also Bush, *English Literature,* pp. 313–16.
[23] All references to the Polish translation (cf. fn. 2) in the text are indicated by "P." and the page number. I have adopted the modernized orthography "Type B" as suggested by *Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich: Projekt* (Wrocław, 1955), pp. 88–100. For the purposes of this study I am using a microfilm of the 1648 edition, currently in the University of Warsaw Library.
[24] Cf. fn. 2

issued in Kiev more or less contemporaneously (such as T. Bajewski's *Tentoria* of 1646) rules out the possibility that *Al Mondo* was printed in Kiev. On the basis of the preliminary results of a typographical analysis conducted by Maria Bohonos-Zagórska of the University of Warsaw Library, it appears that the text may have been issued by the printing house of either Łukasz Kupisz or Krzysztof Schedel, both of Cracow.[25] However, until the results of a closer analysis are known, other possibilities should not be ruled out. In any case, the publication of the translation in Cracow would seem to have been a choice well taken, considering the rather tenuous situation in Kiev in 1648, on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising.

Because the translation itself poses few difficulties, I turn to a discussion of it before tackling the more problematic questions suggested by the appearance of the Polish edition of *Manchester al Mondo*. Since there are no other translations (not even a Latin one) of the English text, it seems safe to assume that the Polish translator worked directly from the English original. Aside from the claim made on the title page ("Z angielskiego języka na polski przetłumaczone" /translated from the English language into Polish/), Victorinus Euthanasius provides additional information about this translation in the dedication and preface. In the former, the translator states, "libello . . . ex Anglica lingua in Latino poloniam fideliter explanatio" (P., i). The curious phrase "Latino poloniam" is to be understood here as referring to the translator's practice of recreating in the Polish text the style of the English original, with its high frequency of interspersed Latin. However, as he explains in the "Ad lectorem": "Anim ja odmienił (ile można) ten stylum jego, ledwie nie słowo w słowo przetłumaczony jest (tylko łacina po polsku przekładana, czego u autora niemasz, i wiem uczenszym uszom, niewdzięczna będzie repetytia taka)" (P., iv) /And I did not change (as much as was possible) this style of his, it is translated nearly word for word (only the Latin is rendered into Polish, something not found in the original, and I know

[25] I gratefully acknowledge the assistance and expertise of Ms. Bohonos-Zagórska in provisionally identifying the place of the text's publication.

For information on Schedel, see Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, *Historia drukarń w Królestwie Polskim i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim jako i w krajach zagranicznych, w których polskie dzieła wychodziły,* 3 vols. (1826; reprint ed., Warsaw, 1974), 1: 217–18. For information on Kupisz, see idem, *Historia drukarń krakowskich od zaprowadzenia druków do tego miasta aż do czasów naszych, wiadomością o wynalezieniu sztuki drukarskiej poprzedzona* (Cracow, 1815), pp. 432–39. According to Bandtkie, Kupisz and Schedel often cooperated in their publishing ventures (cf. ibid., pp. 433, 437).

that to more learned ears such repetition will be unpleasant)/. By following each Latin phrase of the original with its Polish equivalent, Brother Victorinus anticipates the practice of rendering the Latin into English in the British edition of 1655 (and some subsequent ones).

In the "Ad lectorem," the translator comments on his effort, inviting his readers with obligatory modesty to forgive him for the fact that his book "nie tą powagą i słów słodkością (którą się autor, ów wielki Senator Manchester *admirabilus* ozdobił) idzie teraz na świat" (P., iii) /makes its appearance without that dignity and sweetness of word (with which the author, that great Senator Manchester *admirabilus,* adorned it)/. A few lines later, he adds,

> Przyznam, że miejscami, nie mogąc wydołać słowami tak wybornymi wyrazić *sensum Authoris* krasomówcy tak wysoce uczonego, nie masz tej wdzięczności słów, która w oryginale się znajduje: Nieumiejętność moja musi mię w tym wymówić, lubo praca moja w tym namniejsza była, jako tego, który glinę tylko zgotował, a kto umiejętniejszy formę i ozdobę dał.[26]
> (P., iv)

> /I admit that in places, being unable to deal with such refined words or to express the *sensum authoris* of such a learned orator, you will not find that grace of word which is present in the original: my lack of skill must excuse me, for my work in this was minimal, like he who only prepares the clay while someone more skilled gives it form and adornment./

In his discussion of Manchester's work, Fra. Victorinus displays an acquaintance with English prose styles of the period. He remarks that the author's "stylus mieszany łaciną, między Angielczykami niezwyczajny jest" /his style mixed with Latin is uncommon among the English/. The translator then makes the supposition that this mixed style "ukazuje, że raczej dla swej konsolaciej to pisał, po śmierci syna swego (którego na jednym miejscu wspomina) aniżeli żeby miał był wolą podać go do druku" (P., iii–iv) /indicates that he wrote this for his own consolation, after the death of his son (whom he mentions in one place), rather than willingly sending it to print/.[27]

It is apparent from a comparison of the Polish translation with those editions of the original published before 1648 that Victorinus Euthana-

[26] Considering that Brother Victorinus was a foreigner (see below, pp. 148–150), his mastery of the Polish language must seem truly remarkable. He must have either lived or studied in Polish lands for some time. On the other hand, the image of the preparation of clay may allude to the fact that he had editorial assistance from a native speaker (via Latin) in producing the final version for publication.

[27] The death of Manchester's son is not mentioned by any of his biographers, nor does any reference to it appear anywhere in the text.

sius used either the 1638 or 1642 edition as the source for his translation. Both of the anonymous editions of 1631, as well as the first edition (1633), must be ruled out, due to considerable differences in the texts.[28] The text of the Polish translation corresponds to the second, "much inlarged" edition of 1635, which, as was mentioned, was the basis for all subsequent editions. However, only the printings from 1638 and 1642 (as well as some later editions published after 1648) usually contain an unsigned engraved portrait of the Earl of Manchester.[29] Evidently, the Latin poem "In Effigiem Authoris," which precedes the text of the Polish translation, is a meditation in verse on this likeness of Montagu:

Quis Te tam lepida mentitur Imagine Pictor?
    Quae tam viva tuas temperat umbra genas?
Tu Palles, Pallet; De vita verba loquente
    Te, loquitur, Radios Te jaciente, jacit
Par vobis laus est, disparque: Fidelis Imago
    Ista, Tui; sed Tu (Monte-acute) Dei.
(P., v)

Moreover, the brief biographical note in the translator's preface — "Dedykował ten dyskurs swój wszystkiemu światu tymi słowi włoskimi (*Manchester al Mondo*) przeszedszy marności świata, i doświadczywszy różnych kondyciej, powstając *per gradus* od równego ślachcica, cnotą i godnością swą bywszy Pieczętarzem wielkim, a potem Hetmanem, w szedziwym wieku swym ćwiczył się sam, i uczył świata gotować się na śmierć" (P., iii) /With these Italian words (*Manchester al Mondo*) he dedicated his discourse to the entire world, having experienced the vanities of the world, and having known various conditions, advancing *per gradus* from an ordinary nobleman, having been, by his virtue and merit, Lord Privy Seal and later Hetman, he trained himself in his old age and taught the world how to prepare for death/ — may well be an extrapolation on the words found round Montagu's portrait: "Vera effigies praenobilis Henrici Comitis Manchester Dñi Custodis Privati Sigilli Angliae,"[30] although more

[28] Of the editions which interest us here — i.e., those which appeared before 1648 — I was able to examine in Houghton Library of Harvard University one of the two anonymous editions of 1631, the first edition of 1633, the second from 1635, the third from 1636 and the fourth from 1638. For more information concerning these editions, see Baily, "Introduction," pp. xliii–xlvi.

[29] Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xlviii–xlix. A reproduction of the portrait can be found in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors,* 2: opposite p. 340. In the 1638 edition the portrait is dated 1639.

[30] Baily, "Introduction," p. xlix.

detailed knowledge about Manchester on the part of the translator is not unlikely.

Another possible indication that Victorinus Euthanasius used either the 1638 or the 1642 edition is the Latin elegy directly preceding the translation. This typically Baroque Neo-Latin poem[31] is a meditation in verse on the subject of Manchester's tract, thus its title: "In versionem: Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis." There is no comparable prefatory poem in the English originals.[32] Nevertheless, most editions from both 1638 and 1642 contain as a title page an unsigned, allegorical engraving depicting old age and the path to the heavenly kingdom,[33] the presence of which may have led the translator to insert an equivalent "allegory in words" before the text of his translation. The subject of the elegy, however, has little to do with the engraving itself; rather, the elegy functions primarily as a versified introduction to *Al Mondo,* as its closing lines suggest:

Ergo age, sic VIVE, ut Non fit Mortale, quod optes
VIVERE perpetuum sic MORIENDO studes.
Huc LIBER Hicce vocat, Mortem ut Meditando perennes,
Si BENE sic MORERIS, VITA parata TIBI est.
(P., vi)

Brother Victorinus's modest appraisal of his own skills as a translator deserves a more objective evaluation. Indeed, Manchester's sometimes difficult text is rendered with laudable competence by someone whose grasp of both English and Polish seems impressive. Victorinus Euthanasius translates all forty-two chapters of the original *Al Mondo.* His translation is not, of course, completely free of circumlocutions and paraphrasis. English Latinisms or even Gallicisms are sometimes rendered by dubious polonized cognates (the English "duellists and gallants" —E., 49, for instance, by "duellistowie i gallantowie" — P., 70). In order to alleviate the "niewdzięczna repetytia" created by providing Polish equivalents for the Latin passages of the original, the translator often interjects such conjunctions as "albowiem," "więc," and "to jest," or simply breaks up the longer passages. A rather

31 For a discussion of Neo-Latin poetry, see the introduction by Fred J. Nichols to *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven, London, 1979), especially pp. 77–83.

32 The anonymous edition of 1631, probably unknown to Brother Victorinus, includes several poems in both English and Latin, but none of them is the source for "In versionem." Cf. Baily, "Introduction," pp. xliv–xlv.

33 A detailed description of the engraving can be found in Baily, "Introduction," pp. xlvii–xlviii. In the 1638 edition the engraving is dated 1639.

masterful example of the translator's technique of smoothing possibly repetitive passages as well as of his skillful rendition of the English can be illustrated with the following example from the chapter "Radość duszy i ciała w potkaniu się ich z sobą" ("The Joy of Soule and Bodie at Their Meeting"):

But through Death, the very body of Death and burthen of sin are cast out both together.

Sith then the life I now lead is beset with Death, tends to Death, ends in Death, I will no longer mistake tearmes, calling that Death which is life, that life which is Death: *Hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putamus: Illam vitam, quam nos morte* timemus . . .

E., 101–102)

Ale przez śmierć, prawie samo ciało śmierci i ciężar grzechu bywają pospołu wyrzuczone.

Ponieważ tedy wiek i żywot mój, który teraz prowadzę, śmiercią ogarniony jest, ku śmierci się bierze, i w śmierci się kończy, nie chcę ja zażywac terminów omylnie: *Hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putamus:* Tym być śmierć, co my żywotem nazywamy: *Illam vitam quam nos morte timemus*: To żywotem, czego my się śmierci obawiamy.

(P., 136–137)

This fragment also indicates the style of the Polish translation. In every respect, the Polish of Victorinus Euthanasius exemplifies fine Polish prose of the time. The generally high quality of the translation is even more apparent in the following passage taken from the chapter "O zacności duszy" ("The Soule's Excellencie"):

Saint Augustine in a comparative betwixt thing temporall and eternall, saith thus, We love things temporall before we have them, more than when we have them, because the soule when she hath them cannot be satisfied with them; but things eternall, when they are actually possessed, are more loved than when but desired; for neither faith could beleeve, nor hope expect so much as charity shall finde when eternitie comes into possession. There is no soule in the world, how happie soever it thinkes it selfe here, but points its prehensions be-

S. Augustyn w koparatiej, w porównaniu między rzeczami doczesnymi i wiecznymi, mówi tak, Kochamy się w rzeczach doczesnych pierwej niż je mamy, barziej jeszcze aniżeli kiedy je mamy, dlatego że dusza chociaż je ma, nie może jednak nimi być nasycona: Ale wieczne rzeczy kiedy raz w osiadłości są, barziej miłe bywają, niżeli kiedy tylko w pożądaniu; abowiem ani nadzieja kiedyś oczekiwać tak siła, jako miłość najdzie, kiedy wieczności przydzie w osiadłości. Niemasz i jednej duszy na świecie, jakokolwiek poczyta się być

yond what he possesses here. (E., 36)	szczęśliwa tu, która nie kładzie upodobania swego za tym jeszcze i nad to czego tu zażywa i w osiadłości ma. (P., 51)

The Polish translation of Manchester's work contains two moments of interest. The chapter "Wolność śmierci" ("Freedom of Death") includes what is probably the first mention of Chaucer in Polish: "Starego Chaucera epitaphium dobre jest: *Mors aerumnarum requies,* Śmierć utrapienia odpoczynkiem" (P., 85) ("Old Chaucer's Epitaph is a good one: *Mors aerumnarum requies*" — E., 61). The actual wording of the epitaph, "Aerumnarum requies mors," is to be found on the monument erected in 1551 over Chaucer's final resting place in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey.[34] Second, Brother Victorinus clearly has his eye on the ecclesiastical censor when he deals with the dangerous name of Luther. It crops up in the chapter "A Faire Way of Dying Well" ("Sposób dobrego umierania"): "A Man, saith Luther, lives fortie yeares before he knows himselfe to be a foole; and by that time he sees his folly, his life is finished" (E., 113). The Polish translation avoids any difficulties by simply ascribing the saying to "a certain doctor": "Człowiek, mówi jeden doktor, żyje 40 lat niż pozna się być głupim; i o tym czasie, jako głupstwo swoje obaczy, przemija wiek jego" (P., 151). Aside from this one understandable omission, the myriad of Old Testament, New Testament, ancient, and Patristic authorities cited by Montagu are duly retained by his translator.

More interesting than the translation itself, however, are the circumstances surrounding its appearance. Some are problematic indeed. The preface "Ad lectorem" is sufficiently unambiguous about the occasion for both the translation of *Al Mondo* and its publication. Victorinus Euthanasius claims that "Strach prywatnej śmierci był powodem przetłumaczenia tego dyskursu, który (*casu fortuito ad consolationem contra metum mortis*) w niebezpiecznej przygodzie mojej przyszedł do rąk moich" (P., ii) /The fear of my own death was the reason for the translation of this discourse which (*casu fortuito ad consolationem contra metum mortis*) came into my possession under perilous circumstances/. However, since recent events have underscored the opinion that "słusznie mamy wszyscy uważać i opłakiwać wielkie odmienności przez śmierć" (P., ii) /we all must rightfully be aware of and

[34] Cf. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Historical Monuments of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1869), p. 295.

bemoan the great changes wrought by death/, the translator has decided to publish his undertaking. The aforesaid events are those of the tumultuous first half of 1648: ". . . Widząc ojczyznę wszystką w płaczu i nie tylko osieroconą i owdowioną przez śmierć i utratę Króla Pana naszego SP. Lecz przez zgubę obudwuch JMPP Hetmanów, i ruinę tak wielkiego grona nacelniejszego rycerstwa polskiego, *in summo periculo*" (P., ii) /seeing the entire fatherland in tears and not only orphaned and widowed by the death and loss of our Lord the King, but by the defeat of both Hetmans and the ruin of such a great host of the best Polish knights *in summo periculo*/. Judging by the tone of this passage and the absence of any mention of the election of the new king, Jan Kazimierz, in November 1648, the "Ad lectorem" was doubtlessly composed shortly after the death of King Władysław IV (May 20), the defeat and capture of the Polish hetmans M. Potocki and M. Kalinowski by the Cossacks at the Korsun' fiasco (May 26), and possibly after the rout of the Polish army at Piljavci (September 23).

The Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising of 1648 placed the circles associated with the Mohyla Collegium in a rather precarious position.[35] In these circumstances, Adam Kysil must have appeared as a desirable protector.[36] Kysil had been a staunch supporter of Władysław in his successful bid for the Polish crown in 1632 and throughout the king's sixteen-year reign remained a confidante and adviser, fulfilling various missions to Muscovy and the Cossack Host. At the same time, Kysil was considered the de facto "head of Rus'," one of the most powerful men in the Ukrainian lands, and a defender of its Orthodox population. As a close associate of the reformer and namesake of the Kiev Collegium, Peter Mohyla, Kysil came into contact with the burgeoning Orthodox school and became its protector and patron, particularly after Mohyla's death in 1647. His status in regard to the collegium was acknowl-

[35] For a general survey of the history of the collegium, see Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1977). An earlier study is Aleksander Jabłonowski's *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacyi zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899–1900). For a survey of the attitudes of Kiev circles toward the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising, see M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 10 vols. (1922; reprinted New York, 1956), 8, pt. 2: 89–117 and pt. 3: 122–29.

[36] The most exhaustive work on Kysil to date is Frank E. Sysyn's "Adam Kysil, Statesman of Poland-Lithuania: A Study of the Commonwealth Rule in the Ukraine from 1600–1653" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976). See also Zbigniew Wójcik's entry in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1966), s.v. "Kisiel, Adam Swiętołdycz."

edged in the dedication to him of two earlier books that originated in the Kievan milieu: Sylvester Kossov's *Paterikon* (1635) and Theodosius Bajewski's *Tentoria Adamo Kisiel* (1646). The dedication of *Al Mondo* to Kysil may indicate a desire on the part of collegium circles to ensure Kysil's continued protection in this period of grave uncertainty. The translator's dedication may, however, have been prompted by other considerations, ones which hinge upon the central question of this study, namely, who was Brother Victorinus Euthanasius S.S.T.?

The text of the Polish *Al Mondo* provides only a few hints about the identity of its translator. The name Victorinus Euthanasius is obviously a pseudonym, one appropriate for both the translator of a work that contains a chapter entitled "A Fair Way of Dying Well" and for a man who himself escaped near death (*Victor εὐ Θανατος*). The appellations added to his name indicate that (a) he was some kind of brother (*Frater*) (on the title page, the polonized version of his name is given as *B*(rat?) Victorin Euthanaziusz); and (b) he claimed to be a student of theology (*S*[tudens] *S*[acrae] *T*[eologicae]). Moreover, in the dedication to Kysil, Brother Victorinus states that he is "enim Alienigena & Peregrinus." Addressing Kysil serveral lines further down, he adds, "Unde non tantum in Regno inclyto Poloniae, sed etiam apud *nos exteros* nomen tuum celebratur" (P., i; my italics). Besides exhibiting remarkably competent comprehension of the English language, Victorinus Euthanasius is knowledgeable about not only the general political situation in England ("patriam desolatam cum bello intestino" — P., iii),[37] but also, as we have noted earlier, about the state of English prose of the period. He also seems to have more than a passing acquaintance with the name and person of the Earl of Manchester. Finally, we must keep in mind that the translation itself is of an Anglican Protestant (although in no way polemical or controversial) work. Aside from these tidbits of information in the text, material from other sources which might help identify Victorinus Euthanasius is either too general to be of great assistance or simply non-existent. Thus, at this point in time, we must be satisfied with only some hypothetical answers.

Since theology was not at this time an officially recognized subject at the Mohyla Collegium,[38] it may be assumed that Brother Victorinus was a visiting scholar whose title was based on his study of theology at

[37] Here *Patriam* refers to the country of origin of the original *Al Mondo*.
[38] Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy,* pp. 37, 125, 129–131. See also James Cracraft's article in this issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* pp. 71–80.

any of a number of universities or academies in Western Europe or in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, the skimpy evidence in the Polish edition of *Al Mondo* suggests that the homeland of this "alienigena et peregrinus" may possibly have been Great Britain (England, Scotland, or Wales). We know, of course, about numerous English and Scottish subjects visiting or living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their presence was largely a consequence of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, which resulted in lively contacts between both the Catholic and Protestant camps of these two "antipodes" of Europe.[39] Of particular significance for Poland in this respect were the alternating waves of religious persecution in England and Scotland — of Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, and of Protestants under Mary Tudor. The Commonwealth, as a country practicing relative religious tolerance in this period, became a natural haven for British exiles of various persuasions. In the Commonwealth they found protection, employment, and education. Moreover, the religious situation in the Commonwealth also drew foreigners eager to participate in either the Protestant experiment or in the Catholic reaction against it.[40] Particularly numerous were the Scots, both Catholic and Protestant, who came to the Commonwealth at the turn of the seventeenth century. Although some emigrated for religious reasons, many came primarily as merchants and soldiers. They became firmly established in towns throughout the Commonwealth and with time (often in the second generation) became polonized.[41]

Assuming for the moment the British (Scottish?) origins of Victorinus Euthanasius, we are, in all likelihood, dealing with either a Protestant or a Catholic. The appellation "Frater" could, in fact, refer

[39] Besides the study by Szumska cited in fn. 1, see also St. Kot, "Anglo-Polonica: Angielskie źródła rekopiśmienne do dziejów stosunków kulturalnych Polski z Anglią," *Nauka Polska* 20 (1935): 49–140; and Henryk Zins, *Polska w oczach Anglików XIV–XVI* (Warsaw, 1974). This thorough study includes an extensive bibliography on the subject.

[40] See, for instance, Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy," p. 110 ff.; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska,* pp. 46–130.

[41] Cf. A. Francis Steuart, ed., *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576–1793* (Edinburgh, 1915); St. Tomokowicz, "Przyczynek do historii Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski* 2 (1899): 151–74; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska,* pp. 88–123. If Victorinus Euthanasius was in fact of Scottish origin, he may have already been a second-generation Scot, which would explain his proficiency in both Polish and English.

to either a monk or a Protestant brother.[42] Moreover, information from secondary sources leads us to search for Brother Victorinus's identity in both directions. As shall be shown, however, the Catholic connection appears to my mind to be the less plausible of the two.

Through the efforts of such Polish Jesuits as Stanisław Hosius and Piotr Skarga, a number of exiled British Catholics found refuge in the Commonwealth.[43] For instance many British subjects, both students and professors, were at the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius and at the Zamość Academy.[44] Moreover, the first half of the seventeenth century was marked by a meteoric rise in the number of Catholic monasteries throughout the Commonwealth, particularly in the predominantly Orthodox lands of Lithuania and the Ukraine.[45] In Kiev itself, one encounters a Jesuit church and school (1632), a Bernardine convent (1624), and a Dominican church (ca. 1602).[46] This eastward expansion of the Counter-Reformation, coinciding as it did with the persecution of Catholics in England, may have drawn some of the British exiles in the Commonwealth as far away as Kiev to its growing Catholic community.

In fact, it was precisely during the 1630s and 1640s that Rome took steps toward initiating a new union with the Orthodox church.[47] These efforts were directed at both Mohyla and Adam Kysil, whom the Catholic church had for some some time considered to look favorably on plans for such a union.[48] Viewed in this connection, the dedication of *Manchester al Mondo* to Kysil may have been part of Catholic attempts to retain the powerful Orthodox nobleman as an ally. Such

[42] In fact, the Protestant Scots in and around Lublin were organized into what was called "The Scottish Brotherhood." Cf. Beatrice Baskerville's "The Original Records of those Scots in Poland Known as the Scottish Brotherhood at Lublin," in Steuart, *Papers*, pp. 108–118.

[43] See, for instance, Borowy, "Prześladowani katolicy," pp. 110 ff.; and St. Windakiewicz, "Skarga and the English," *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Classe de Philologie, pt. 1 (1919–1920), pp. 120–28.

[44] See, for instance, Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 67–74, 112–18.

[45] For a survey of monastic developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1979), 2 (*Wieki XVI–XVIII*): 485–730.

[46] Cf. N. I. Petrov, *Istoriko-topografičeskie očerki drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1897), pp. 179–80, 218–20.

[47] See, for example, E. Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Orient Orthodoxe Russe, 1609–1654*, 2 pts., Publication des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangers, ser. 1, no. 4 (Prague, 1928), 1: 96–125.

[48] Cf. Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," pp. 186–206.

efforts would have been particularly timely in 1648, with the death of Władysław IV and the beginnings of the Cossack uprising.[49] Yet I consider the Catholic connection of Victorinus Euthanasius to be unlikely for several reasons. The translated discourse is, after all, the work of a Protestant. It would have been odd for a Catholic to use a Protestant work as a pretext for retaining the favor of an Orthodox nobleman. Moreover, if we assume that Brother Victorinus was, in fact, a British Catholic, his praise in the "Ad lectorem" of a member of a government known to have persecuted British papists would display an astonishing degree of forebearance. Finally, although we have little information about students at the Mohyla Collegium, it would seem implausible to find a foreign Catholic there when the Jesuit Collegium in Kiev attracted even Orthodox students away from the Mohyla school.[50] Consequently, we must direct our attention at the Protestant option for clues about Victorinus's background.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, both Calvinist and Unitarian communities were well established in the Ukrainian lands.[51] In 1648, although suffering ever increasing persecution, Protestants in the Ukraine still constituted a sizable community. Like all Protestant groups in the Commonwealth, those in the Ukraine and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania maintained broad contacts with Western Europe, including England and Scotland. Thus, for example, in 1631 several young Unitarians from the Ukraine visited England in the course of their obligatory educational tour of the West.[52] On the other hand, as a result of the persecutions of James I, thousands of Protestant Scots found refuge in the vicinity of Lublin and on the estates of the

[49] For Kysil's role in the election of 1648, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," pp. 268–75.

[50] Cf. Petrov, *Istoriko-topografičeskie očerki,* p. 219.

[51] See, for instance, George H. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1978): 41–72; and 2, no. 2 (1978): 184–210. An excellent earlier study is Orest Levickij's "Predislovie" to *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii,* 6, pt. 1 (1883): 1–182 (an earlier version of this study appeared under the title "Socianstvo v Pol'še i Jugo-Zapadnoj Rusi" in *Kievskaja starina,* vol. 2 (1882). See also Józef Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w dawnej Małej Polsce* (Poznań, 1853).

[52] Among them were Jurij Nemyryč, Andrzej Wiszowaty, Aleksander Čaplyč, Petro Suxodol's'kyj, and Mikołaj Lubieniecki. Cf. Robert Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography,* 3 vols. (London, 1850), 3: 226–27. For a discussion of Protestant Polish-English contacts, see Nicholas Hans, "Polish Protestants and their Connections with England and Holland in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Slavonic and East European Review* 37 (1958–59): 196–220; and Szumska, *Anglia a Polska,* pp. 77–88, 123–28, 154–55. About specifically Unitarian contacts, see St. Kot, "Oddziaływanie Braci Polskich w Anglii," *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8 (1935–36): 217–44.

Radziwiłł family.[53] Moreover, the high intellectual standards of Protestant educational institutions in the Commonwealth — e.g., the Unitarian one in Ukrainian Kyselyn and the Calvinist in Sluck (Słuck) — were particularly attractive to foreign scholars.[54]

At the same time, the Protestants of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands maintained extensive ties with their Orthodox neighbors. Such ties, whether motivated by proselytizing or alliance against the common Catholic foe, went as far back as to the days of Prince Kostjatyn Ostroz'kyj.[55] Indeed, one of the first defenses of the Orthodox faith, the *Apokrisis* (1597, 1598) of Christopher Philaleth, is ascribed to a Protestant.[56] In fact, the first half of the seventeenth century is marked by numerous attempts at a closer understanding between the Protestants and the Orthodox church.[57] In the 1630s and 1640s, for example, Unitarians in the Ukraine made a concerted effort to establish closer ties with Mohyla and his collegium. They dedicated a book to him (Eustasy Kisiel's *Antyapologia* of 1631) and proposed Greek translations of, among other books, St. Lubieniecki's *Cathechismus,* probably with the intent of making it accessible to students of the Mohyla Collegium.[58] For their part, members of the Orthodox community, for whatever reason, at times defended Protestants at various diets and tribunals against Catholic accusations.[59] Adam Kysil himself is known

[53] Cf. Hans, "Polish Protestants," pp. 212–13; and Baskerville, "Original Records," pp. 108–110.

[54] Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 194–198; and Hans, "Polish Protestants," p. 212.

[55] Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 52–56, 68–72. About Ostroz'kyj, see Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohijenko), *Knjaz' Kostjatyn Ostroz'kyj i joho kul'tural'na pracja* (Winnipeg, 1958).

[56] Cf. Aleksander Brückner, "Spory o unię w dawnej literaturze," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 (1896): 591–96.

[57] See, for instance, Alonsius Bichler, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in der orientalischen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert oder: Der Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1862); and I. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, "Ukrainskij i belorusskij gumanizm," in his book *Slavjanskie literatury* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 176–85. British Protestants had an interest in the Orthodox East at this time. In the late 1630s, for example, an Anglican, Ephraim Pagitt, sent a copy of his book, *Christianographie or the Description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the World not subject to the Pope. With their Unitie, and how they agree with us in the principale points of difference betweene us and the Church of Rome* (London, 1635), to the Calvinist Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Pagitt enclosed a letter asking for more information about the Orthodox faith and included therein a translation of the Anglican mass into Greek. Cf. Kot, "Anglo-Polonica," pp. 102–103. About Radziwiłł, see H. Wisner, "Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1585–1640)," *Fasculi Historici* 2 (1969): 9–15.

[58] Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," pp. 195, 197–98, 205.

[59] Cf. Levickij, "Predislovie," pp. 161–62.

to have tolerated local Unitarians on his lands at Hošča — in 1644 he was even publicly accused of harboring them.[60] In connection with this, it is significant that in his dedication to Kysil, Victorinus Euthanasius extols Kysil's virtues ("Satis est tibi quod te nemo vetustare generis, praeclaris majorum gestis, gloria et splendore superat in Patria; et ipsum stemma docet, Majores tuos fuisse gentis suae Duces, Patriae defensores, libertatis zelatores; Domus tua ex te cognoscitur, et tu ex illa cognosceris Marte et arte, in Toga, et Sago, in Aprico et Palaeastra" — P., i), without, however, mentioning Kysil's role as defender of the Orthodox faith. Victorinus's dedication thus differs markedly from those of Kossov or Bajewski, in which Kysil's defense of Orthodoxy figures prominently.[61] Assuming that Victorinus Euthanasius was a Protestant, his dedication to Kysil would serve to ensure the nobleman's continued protection of the Protestant community and, possibly, to influence his vote at the upcoming royal election.[62]

Unfortunately, virtually no records of the early years of the Mohyla Collegium survive.[63] It is therefore impossible to ascertain who studied there in 1648, the relationships between the students from various religious and ethnic groups attending the collegium, or the attitudes of the school hierarchy toward foreign or non-Orthodox students. Consequently, Victorinus Euthanasius's translation of *Al Mondo* must serve as an all-too-rare source of information about Kiev and its Orthodox collegium.

In speculating about the identity of the translator, I have tried to establish some contexts in which such a translation could have been undertaken and completed. Even if my assumptions as to the identity of Brother Victorinus must remain hypothetical, the existence of both

[60] Cf. Levickij, "Predislovie," p. 159. For possible connections of the family of Kysil's mother (Ivanyc'kyj) with Antitrinitarians, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," p. 62.
[61] Kossov, for instance, addresses Kysil as "Pobożny, stateczny, Wschodniej Cerkwi syn" (*Paterikon* [Kiev, 1635], p. [iii]), while Bajewski's *Tentoria* (Kiev, 1646) contains an entire section entitled "Tentorium Ecclesiae." The omission of Kysil's Orthodoxy would indicate that Brother Victorinus was probably not Orthodox, although there were instances of Protestant conversions to the Eastern faith. The most notable case is, of course, that of the Unitarian Jurij Nemyryč, who converted to Orthodoxy in 1658. About Nemyryč, see St. Kot, *Jerzy Niemirycz, w 300-lecie ugody hadziackiej* (Paris, 1960).
[62] For Protestant attitudes toward the candidates to the throne, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," p. 269, and Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," p. 202. The Cossack uprising turned out to be disastrous for Protestants in the Ukraine. Many of them fled, in fact, to Cracow. Cf. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine," p. 202.
[63] Cf. Sydorenko, *Kievan Academy*, p. 79. Most of the archival material was destroyed in a fire in 1658 (ibid., p. 42).

the translation itself and of a network of connections possibly linking Kiev and Great Britain indicates something about the milieu in Kiev on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising. It appears that the Mohyla Collegium was a relatively cosmopolitan center, practicing a degree of religious tolerance. After all, we have the translation of an Anglican Protestant devotional tract (its first and only translation into any language) into Polish by a visiting foreigner (Scottish? Protestant?), dedicated to one of the most powerful men in Orthodox Ukraine and probably printed in Cracow. Moreover, speculations about Victorinus Euthanasius's connections also point to Kysil and to the Mohyla Collegium as focal points during the events of 1648. Whatever the exact circumstances surrounding the appearance of the Polish translation of *Manchester al Mondo* were, its existence proves that the Mohyla Collegium was able to attract foreigners, and that it created an atmosphere in which they could make a contribution, however minor, to the literary culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a whole.

Harvard University

Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture

FRANK E. SYSYN

THE KIEVAN ACADEMY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Alexander Sydorenko*. University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, 1. Ottawa: The University of Ottawa Press, 1977. 194 pp.

WAYS OF RUSSIAN THEOLOGY. By *Georges Florovsky*. Edited by *Richard S. Haugh*. Translated by *Robert L. Nichols*. Part 1. Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, vol. 5. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland Publishing Co., 1979. 380 pp.

DE LUTHER À MOHILA: LA POLOGNE DANS LA CRISE DE LA CHRÉTIENTÉ 1517–1648. By *Ambroise Jobert*. Preface by *Karol Górski*. Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves, 21. Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1974. 483 pp.

PETRO MOHYLA I PYTANNIA IEDNOSTY TSERKOV. By *Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi*. Monohrafii, no. 17. Paris: Ukrains'kyi vilnyi universytet, 1969. 282 pp.

RENAISSANCE INFLUENCES AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS IN RUSSIA: WESTERN AND POST-BYZANTINE IMPACTS ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION (16th–17th CENTURIES). By *William K. Medlin* and *Christos G. Patrinelis*. Foreword by *Sir Steven Runciman*. Études de philologie et d'histoire, 18. Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1971. 179 pp.

Although the importance of Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy has been generally acknowledged, relatively little literature about them exists for the reader not conversant in Slavic languages. Western

scholars who have written on these topics have understandably been drawn first to their importance in Orthodox affairs; one outstanding accomplishment in this vein is Antoine Malvy and Marcel Viller's publication of the Latin text of Mohyla's Orthodox confession.[1] Cultural and political problems have received much less attention. The situation seems to reflect the weak development of East European cultural history in the West, and of Ukrainian cultural history in particular: a striking exception — by a Western rather than an émigré scholar — is Antoine Martel's examination of language use in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ukraine and Belorussia.[2] But both Mohyla studies and Ukrainian cultural history have advanced slowly in the West since the interwar years, when the books of Malvy and Viller and of Martel appeared.[3] It is a hopeful sign, therefore, that a number of Western works dealing with Peter Mohyla and his age have appeared in recent years. The purpose of this review is to examine their contribution to studies on Mohyla, the academy, and seventeenth-century Ukrainian cultural and religious history.[4]

In the field of East European studies, Mohyla and his epoch have

[1] Antoine Malvy and Marcel Viller, *La confession orthodoxe de Pierre Mohila, métropolite de Kiev (1633–1646) approuvée par les patriarches grecs du XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1927) (= Orientalia Christiana, vol. 10, no. 39).

[2] Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1933) (= Travaux et memoires de l'Université de Lille, Nouvelle série: Droît et lettres, 20).

[3] For Western literature on Mohyla and the academy, see the bibliography in Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (Paris, 1969), pp. 265–77. The contributions of scholars of Romanian extraction to literature in French should be noted. See particularly T. Ionescu, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre Movila* (Paris, 1944), and P. P. Panaitescu, "L'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les Principautés roumaines," in *Mélanges de l'école roumaine en France* (Paris, 1926), pt. 1, pp. 1–95.

[4] I have not included Ronald Peter Popivchak's *Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47). Translation and Evaluation of his "Orthodox Confession of Faith" (1640)* (Washington, D.C., 1975) (= The Catholic University of America, 259). Popivchak uses Malvy and Viller's Latin text for the translation, as the text closest to Mohyla's original. He believes, however, that the original was in a Slavic language (Polish or Ukrainian) rather than in Latin. In addition to the translation, Popivchak provides a summary of debates about the formulation of the confession and its place in Orthodox thought. His conclusion is that although Mohyla turned to the Western church for models in understanding a systematic presentation of theology, he remained faithful to the basic element of Eastern theology. He broaches the issue, however, of whether the very process of systematic definition in which Mohyla was involved was not after all "Latin." I leave theological discussions of Popivchak's work to his colleagues in that field. The work does not inspire confidence, however, by its compilative nature, failure to identify the Western sources of Mohyla's work, poorly written introduction, and clumsy translation of the Latin original.

proved a particularly fertile ground for controversy. They have become the subjects of disputes between Orthodox, Uniates, and Catholics; between Ukrainians, Russians, Romanians, and Poles; and between political ideologies ranging from monarchism to Marxism. To many historians in Eastern Europe, where the past is often depicted as either black or white, Mohyla almost consistently appears in ambiguous gray. He seems to "betray" the political-religious positions which East European historians typically espouse, whether Russian Orthodox monarchist, Ukrainian populist (either Western-oriented Ukrainian Orthodox or secular), Ukrainian Uniate, Polish Roman Catholic, or Russocentric Soviet Marxist.

Modern East European religious divisions, political allegiances, and national loyalties fuel such anachronistic thinking. More than one Polish scholar has wondered how Mohyla, the enlightener, Westernizer, and product of Polish culture, could be Orthodox rather than Uniate. More than one Russian scholar has questioned why a defender of Orthodoxy preferred Poland to Muscovy. More than one Ukrainian scholar has been troubled that a Ukrainian cultural patron turned against the Cossacks. Soviet scholars, antagonistic towards religion and certain that any achievement in the Ukraine must be connected with Russia or Russians, are obliged to step lightly in discussing Mohyla and his collegium, both so "progressive," as publishers of books, defenders of Orthodoxy, and educators of cultural leaders for the Ukraine and Russia, and yet so "reactionary," as serfowners, pro-Polish and anti-Muscovite formulators of a Jesuit curriculum, and propagators of the Latin and Polish languages.[5] Too often East European scholars have been unwilling or unable to recognize that Mohyla cannot be classified as a proponent of any of these modern outlooks, because cultural realities in seventeenth-century Ukraine were far different from those in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Research on Mohyla in the West will, one hopes, break new ground in interpretation. Of course, biases exist among all scholars, but

[5] Just how difficult the figure of Mohyla is for Soviet scholars, who must seek out a groundswell for "reunification" in the Ukraine, can be seen in B. N. Floria's statement about Mohyla's contacts with the Muscovite government in the 1630s: "In this way, in the years of the 'golden decade,' a clear change of the earlier completely loyalist position of the Kiev metropolitan see to the Commonwealth was noticed. Even this group found it necessary to make a definite step on the path of accommodation with the Russian government, an approval of its unification program" (p. 225). V. T. Pashuto, B. N. Floria, A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoricheskie sud'by vostochnogo slavianstva* (Moscow, 1982).

exploration within a new scholarly milieu will surely stimulate fresh thought and insight. The five works reviewed here are still tied to traditional East European patterns of thought, but the need to address a new audience has resulted in some differences in emphasis. Just as important, the appearance of studies on Mohyla in Western languages will allow a wider circle of Western scholars to discuss Mohyla and his academy.

Only one of the five works deals primarily with Mohyla's school: Alexander Sydorenko's *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*. The first of the book's six chapters discusses the cultural setting in the Ukraine before the establishment of the collegium; the second and third trace the collegium's history to 1709. Chapter four discusses the school's structure, chapter five deals with its curriculum, and the final chapter, entitled "The Kievan Baroque Milieu," evaluates the substance and influence of Kievan learning. The three appendices are a translation of the academy's regulations of 1743, a table of events in the history of the academy and of Eastern Europe, and a list of the school's seventeenth-century rectors.

Although Sydorenko's work was originally a Ph.D. thesis at an American university, it belongs within the tradition of Ukrainian historiography that has debated the academy's impact on Ukrainian cultural and political life. One trend in Ukrainian historiography has criticized the academy's failures to develop the Ukrainian vernacular and secular culture and to provide adequate intellectual leadership for the Cossack Hetmanate. Another has emphasized the role of Mohyla and the academy in the Ukrainian "rebirth" of the seventeenth century, particularly in developing distinctively Ukrainian cultural and ecclesiastical traditions and in fostering Ukrainian Orthodoxy. While noting both views, Sydorenko clearly believes that the achievements of the metropolitan and his collegium outweigh any shortcomings. The author states that he did not conduct new archival research and that his inquiry is historiographical and interpretive in nature. It is the historiographical dimension of his study that the reader will find most rewarding, for Sydorenko summarizes scholarly debates and issues and provides an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. Sydorenko's emphasis on Ukrainian national interests and his distortions of the seventeenth-century Ukrainian cultural milieu, however, prevent the work from being a contribution to the interpretations of Mohyla.

The book lacks lucidity in description and sound analysis in discussion. For example, though I concur that "Ukrainian" can describe the seventeenth-century ancestors of present-day Ukrainians, I consider Sydorenko's appropriation of all "Ruthenians" as "Ukrainians" to be incorrect, since this usage ignores the Belorussians. The statement "An ominous event took place in 1385, when the Lithuanian Grand Prince Jagello (1377–92) married Queen Jadwiga of Poland, embraced Roman Catholicism, and vowed to 'unite Lithuania and his Ukrainian possessions with Poland forever,'" does not note that the original reads "Ruthenian" and certainly included Belorussia (p. 2). At other times imprecision leads to incomprehensible as well as incorrect statements: "As a component yet distinct element within the Polish-Lithuanian realm, the Ukrainians, together with the kindred Byelorussians, were officially classified as *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* (Ukrainians by racial origin, Polish by nationality), in itself not a precise formula but a juridical euphemism" (p. 2). I know of no such official classification. In other instances the author confuses national and religious elements: "As the Polish state consolidated its power, it grew less tolerant of national differences. Giving up all pretense of compromise, it now attempted to deny nationality altogether. In an age when nationality was determined by faith, the most obvious obstacle to Polonization was the Ukrainian Orthodox Church" (p. 3). The more plausible sequence of events is, in my view, that the state moved against the church, and that this affected national relations. Most disturbing, the descriptions of national contacts are frequently so anachronistic that they seem appropriate for modern, rather than seventeenth-century, Ukrainian-Polish relations: "Still, it is clearly evident that the total impact of Poland upon sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ukraine was profound. Geographical proximity alone inevitably led to linguistic, cultural, and ideological intercourse between the two nations. Inasmuch as Poland was the 'master nation,' . . ." (p. 141); or "The Poles became the master within a polyglot empire, exercizing full arrogance of power. Naturally, political, economic, social and psychological considerations prompted the Polish authorities to attempt to create uniformity where previously there was none" (p. 3). These descriptions fit the Poland of Piłsudski, not the Commonwealth of Władysław IV.

The anachronisms in interpretation sometimes result in gross distortions of cultural developments. Sydorenko would have us believe that, in contrast to Ivan Vyshens'kyi, his Ukrainian contemporaries did not

see the prevailing conflict of their age as between Eastern and Western Christendom, but as a national one, in which religion was only a weapon. He even postulates a conscious movement of the "secular elite" to produce a vernacular literature to replace Slavonic texts (p. 7). In my estimation, it is impossible to prove that these were the prevailing views of Vyshens'kyi's contemporaries or that any such program existed among any "secular" elite, although Ruthenian national sentiment was on the rise. Sydorenko is much closer to the mark in analyzing seventeenth-century Ukrainian national culture and sentiment when he describes Mohyla's goals: "Mohyla echoed the ideals of such leading ecclesiastics as Ivan Vyshens'kyi, Zakharii Kopystens'kyi, and Iov Borets'kyi in that his ultimate goals were not national but confessional. The social and political strivings of the Ukrainian masses concerned him insofar as they pertained to the welfare of the Church and the clergy. If a revitalized Orthodoxy inevitably promoted national consciousness, it was a fortuitous rather than premeditated accomplishment" (p. 144). Had Sydorenko developed this theme throughout, he would have gone far in elucidating the national and cultural trends of the period. As it stands, his is a narrative history of the academy with useful summaries of historical debates. Regrettably, the imprecision of the author's presentation of national and cultural affairs typifies the entire work (note for example his vague and at times inaccurate description of poetics and rhetoric in chapter 5). Hence the only English-language monograph on the academy must be read with caution.

Georges Florovsky's interest in Mohyla and interpretation of the impact of his academy are diametrically opposed to Sydorenko's. One of the foremost Christian theologians of the twentieth century, and a specialist in patristic literature, Father Florovsky was concerned with Russian spiritual and cultural history. A member of the great Russian emigration after the Revolution, Florovsky published the Russian original of his *Ways of Russian Theology* in Paris in 1937. The destruction of most copies during World War II made the book a rarity even for the small Russian-reading public in the West. Yet it has had a profound influence on cultural historians of Russia, due to the author's erudition and bold views on the "mistaken" road that Russian Christians long traveled. The work's recent publication in English in a revised edition is sure to increase its impact. Although only two chapters deal with early-modern Ukraine, the decisiveness and passion

with which Florovsky discusses Mohyla and his school ensure that his discussion will affect scholarly thinking.

Father Florovsky's thesis about Russian theology and history is clearly stated in the preface. He conceives his work to be an experimental synthesis in the history of Russian thought. He argues that unbiased history has never existed and cannot exist. His work is based on the premise that the intellectual break from patristics and Byzantine thought was "the chief cause for all the interruptions and failures in Russia's development." It can be shown in historical perspective, he maintains, that the narrow path of patristic theology was the only true way for Russian Christians. Only when they adhered to this path did they make genuine achievements.

Florovsky has provided, in sum, a theologically motivated history of "Russia's development." Even those who do not share his Christian religious convictions or his focus on patristics should consider what he says in formulating an understanding of East European cultural history, if for no other reason than because Florovsky's horizons and knowledge make the work one of the most important interpretations of Russian cultural history. Yet this book is difficult to analyze as a "history of Russia's development," for Florovsky is not interested in what motivated cultural and intellectual development, but rather in pointing out spiritual mistakes.

Although Father Florovsky never addresses such problems as the evolution of nations and national cultures directly, his work belongs to the tradition in Russian historiography that regards the Russian nation as formed with the first Christianization — that is, as a community essentially unchanged from the eleventh to the seventeenth or the nineteenth century. This assumption is accompanied by the other tenet of traditional Russian historiography — the Kiev/Suzdal'/Moscow historical succession and the basic unity of the "Russian" people throughout time. In Father Florovsky's analysis, the Ukraine and Belorussia are merely subsumed under the theology and history of Russia. He never seriously considers that Kiev/Galicia-Volhynia/Grand Duchy of Lithuania/Kiev was a different cultural and historical experience from Kiev/Suzdal'/Moscow. Yet in practice he provides rich data and perceptive observations that could support just such an interpretation.

The first chapter, "The Crisis of Russian Byzantinism," traces developments from the introduction of Byzantine tradition to what Florovsky views as the final rejection of Byzantinism in sixteenth-

century Muscovy. For the student of Ukrainian history, it is most important to note how strongly Florovsky maintains that Muscovy is a direct and organic continuation of Kievan Rus':

> The Tatar invasion was a national disaster and a political catastrophe. . . . However, the Tatar yoke does not constitute a separate period in the history of Russian culture. No interruption or break can be observed in Russia's cultural effort or in its creative mood and aspirations. True, culture moves or is displaced to the north. New centers develop, while old ones decline. Yet this new growth sprang from seeds previously sown and cultivated, not from the "transmission of enlightenment" from the cultural south of Kiev to the semi-barbarous northeast, as until even recently some historians have delighted in describing the process. (p. 9)

This view allows Florovsky to pass over the ecclesiastical history of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century in a mere two pages. He is negative about efforts to re-establish a metropolitan in these lands, whether by gaining control of the entire old metropolitanate or by separating sees from the jurisdictions of the metropolitans then residing in Moscow. He sees such attempts as antithetical to the interests of Orthodoxy because they were often accompanied by "an inclination in favor of the Roman West" (p. 33).

In discussing the fate of Orthodoxy in Catholic states, Florovsky questions whether it was possible for two churches, intrinsically representing two cultures, to exist in the same realm, calling this a "sociological and cultural problem more than a theological one" (p. 35). He is, I believe, unduly critical of Catholic Poland and Lithuania, and fails to acknowledge the comparatively high level of religious toleration there — a toleration guaranteed by the extensive corporate rights of the nobles and, to a lesser degree, of the burghers. Like Sydorenko, he uses religious and national categories interchangeably. He maintains that "Under the circumstances, religious freedom for the Orthodox also meant 'national identity,'" but provides no discussion of the interrelation of religion, state, and nation in these lands. His failure to provide such analysis is understandable, however, since in his view the major questions posed by the Western religious and cultural challenge in the Ukraine and Belorussia were whether the Byzantine tradition and Orthodoxy should be maintained strictly as they were, or whether new forms should be devised under Western influence (pp. 36–37).

For Florovsky, those who took the correct path were those who remained true to the Byzantine tradition, the Bible, and patristic literature. He particularly praises the Muscovite immigrant

Prince Andrei Kurbskii for his rejection of Western influences and his program of translating patristic and sacred writings into Church Slavonic. He also commends Artemii and Ivan Fedorov. Leaving aside the question of the validity of his description of Kurbskii's work and activities, I find Florovsky's affirmation of Kurbskii's attitudes closely tied to the condemnation of the entire course of Ukrainian spiritual development. Hence when he compares Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi with Kurbskii, Florovsky writes: "Of the two, Ostrozhskii's cultural horizons were probably broader, but there was less coherence in his views. He was prone to adjustment and compromise and his politics frequently vacillated" (p. 76). It is "adjustment and compromise" that Florovsky considers great failings, and only a few indigenous Ruthenian churchmen meet his test of eschewing Latin learning — Herasym Smotryts'kyi, Vasyl Suraz'kyi and Demian Nalyvaiko in the sixteenth century and Ivan Vyshens'kyi and Zakharii Kopystens'kyi in the early seventeenth. For Florovsky this period in the Ukraine and Belorussia was "an untimely season," unfavorable for religious life, the organization of schools, and "some form of calmness and clarity of thought, so indispensable to the life of the mind." He does see considerable accomplishments in the age, but avoids discussing them by maintaining that it is still not possible to assess their full significance (p. 57). This is one of the few times that Florovsky seems reluctant to give an opinion.

The accomplishments were made in face of the great dangers of Westernization and union with Rome, thanks, says Florovsky, to steadfast adherence to the Greek and Slavonic traditions. Chief among them is the Ostroh Bible, which he praises particularly because it appeared not in the vernacular, like Bibles of that time in the West, but in Church Slavonic. He asserts that in their battle with the Uniates, "The only cultural concession of the Orthodox loyalists was the supplementation of Church Slavonic with the local vernacular, the *russkii dialekt*. With the passage of time this dialect came into increasing literary use because the common people understood it much better than Church Slavonic" (p. 63). The implication is that there is something intrinsically un-Orthodox in using vernacular. Florovsky bristles against Skarga's criticisms of Church Slavonic, counter-attacking that while the Polish language was not mature enough to be a vehicle of learning in the late sixteenth century, Church Slavonic was (p. 62).

Florovsky maintains that only a rigidly conservative linguistic-cultural policy could combat Western influence, the Union of Brest, and Polonization. His entire discussion mixes and, I would argue,

confuses cultural, religious, and national issues. Therefore, in discussing the cultural climate in the Ukraine and Belorussia he says, "All these are but mild and euphemistic ways of saying that in principle the *Unia* meant 'Polonization,' which is what happened historically" (p. 54). Like most Russian Orthodox authors, Florovsky is passionate in his condemnation of the Uniate church as a religious institution. He also sees the Union as deleterious because in the process of combatting Roman Catholic incursions, the Orthodox church in the Ukraine and Belorussia fell greatly under the influence of the laity. For Florovsky this process, accompanied as it was by the penetration of Protestant thought among the Orthodox, deformed the church.

Among the deleterious effects of lay influence on the church Florovsky includes the election of Metropolitan Mohyla, engineered by a compromise of the king and the Orthodox lay leaders, an act which he considers uncanonical. And although Mohyla's policies strengthened hierarchical authority and the autonomy of the church, Florovsky finds them just as baneful as the Protestant and lay tendencies. Hence he belongs to the school of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian church historians (Golubinskii, Znamenskii, Kartashev) who condemn Mohyla for his Westernizing tendencies. His characterization of Mohyla and his accomplishments is extremely severe and centers on the issue of the Orthodoxy of the metropolitan:

To interpret the reign of Peter Mogila with precision is difficult. It has been argued that Mogila sought to create an "occidental Orthodoxy," and thereby to disentangle Orthodoxy from its "obsolete" oriental setting. The notion is plausible. But however Mogila's motives are interpreted, his legacy is an ambiguous one. On the one hand, he was a great man who accomplished a great deal. And in his own way he was even devout. Under his guidance and rule the Orthodox Church in West Russia emerged from that state of disorientation and disorganization wherein it had languished ever since the catastrophe at Brest. On the other hand, the Church he led out of this ordeal was not the same. Change ran deep. There was a new an alien spirit, the Latin spirit in everything. Thus, Mogila's legacy also includes a drastic "Romanization" of the Orthodox Church. He brought Orthodoxy to what might be called a Latin "pseudomorphosis." True, he found the Church in ruins and had to rebuild, but he built a foreign edifice on the ruins. He founded a Roman Catholic school in the Church, and for generations the Orthodox clergy was raised in a Roman Catholic spirit and taught theology in Latin. He "Romanized" the liturgies and thereby "Latinized" the mentality and psychology, the very soul of the Orthodox people. Mogila's "internal toxin," so to speak, was far more dangerous than the *Unia*. The *Unia* could be resisted, and had been resisted, especially when there were efforts to enforce it. But Mogila's "crypto-Roman-

ism" entered silently and imperceptibly, with almost no resistance. It has of course often been said that Mogila's "accretions" were only external, involving form not substance. This ignores the truth that form shapes substance, and if an unsuitable form does not distort substance, it prevents its natural growth. This is the meaning of "pseudomorphosis." Assuming a Roman garb was an alien act for Orthodoxy. And the paradoxical character of the whole situation was only increased when, along with the steady "Latinization" of the inner life of the Church, its canonical autonomy was steadfastly maintained. (p. 72)

Florovsky is especially critical of Mohyla's preliminary negotiations for a new union and of his "Latin" formulation of Orthodox dogmas. But it is the Kiev Academy that Florovsky sees as Mohyla's most negative creation, because it became the model for Orthodox education not only in the Ukraine and Belorussia, but in Russia as well.

For Florovsky Kievan learning, with its acceptance of Latin and neo-scholasticism, represented a total break with earlier traditions. He describes it thus: "It was the Baroque theology of the Counter-Reformation Age. This does not mean that the intellectual horizon of a seventeenth-century scholar in Kiev was narrow. His erudition could be quite extensive. Students of that era read a great deal, but usually their reading was in a limited sphere. The Baroque Age was, after all, an intellectually arid era, a period of self-contained erudition, an epoch of imitation. In the life of the mind it was not a creative age" (p. 79). Florovsky hence condemns the Kievan clerics — Lazar Baranovych, Stefan Iavors'kyi, St. Dmytro Tuptalo-Rostovs'kyi and Iosaf Krokovs'kyi — not only for their acceptance of Roman Catholic thought and the Latin language, but also for their affinity to the European Baroque. It is indeed Polish Baroque for which he has the greatest scorn as, for example, when he criticizes the model of the Kievans, Tomasz Młodzianowski, a seventeenth-century Polish preacher, as "the most imitated and grotesque of all" (pp. 80–81). He sees all of Ukrainian Baroque culture, which reached its height during the time of Mazepa, as profoundly flawed and as an enduring negative influence on Ukrainian spirituality and religious thought. He condemns Ukrainian spirituality as characterized by a "lack of sobriety, an excess of emotionalism, and a heady exaltation" that led to "religious romanticism." He believes that these negative traits permeated the religious books, the painting, and the architecture of the Ukrainian Baroque (p. 84). In the end the Kievan encounter with the West was a total failure, according to Florovsky, despite the lively intellectual exchange. He insists that an "aura of

doom hovered over the entire movement, for it comprised a 'pseudomorphism' of Russia's religious consciousness, a 'pseudomorphosis' of Orthodox thought" (p. 85).

That it is the influence of Kiev on Russia that most troubles Florovsky is evident in his third chapter, "The Contradictions of the Seventeenth Century." The chapter begins with a discussion of the Time of Troubles as a period when the Russian "national psyche" was reborn and Muscovy was receptive to new ways, albeit not without some distrustfulness (p. 86). It concludes with a lament that by the end of the century the Kievans were victorious and had exported their "pseudomorphic" educational system to Muscovy. In discussing this process Florovsky displays great compassion for the Muscovites' dilemmas, even for the Old Belief that he views as a "grievous spiritual disease." The Kievans elicit no such understanding; indeed, Florovsky is incensed about their disdain for the Muscovites. He condemns Dmytro Tuptalo for his allegiance to Kievan thought, and he charges that Tuptalo, having settled in the north, in Russia, never came to understand its distinctive religious ethos. To cite but one example: "Dmitrii understood the Old Believer movement as no more than the blindness of an ignorant populace" (pp. 82–87). To Florovsky, Simon of Polotsk was "pompous, and arrogant, rhetorical and verbose" (p. 106). Teofan Prokopovych, a "dreadful person," rejected much of his Kievan Roman Catholic-oriented clerical inheritance, and helped create what Florovsky sees as a new Protestant pseudomorphosis in the Russian church. But he, too, "openly despised the clergy, especially the Great Russian clergy, among whom he always felt a stranger and a foreigner" (p. 127).

For Florovsky the major fault of the Kievans is the educational model of Mohyla that they transplanted to Russia. In describing the widespread Muscovite resistance to studying under them, Florovsky insists that it stemmed not from ignorance or superstition on the part of the clergy, but from the fact that the new schools were "foreign and exotic: an unexpected Latin-Polish colony on the Russian clergy's native soil." He goes so far as to say that the schools were useless, and he condemns them for carrying on Scriptural instruction in Latin (pp. 133–135).

Florovsky sees as alien to the Russians not only the Latin and Polish models, but also their Ukrainian purveyors, who "captured" the Russian church:

> Such an emigration of Ukrainians or *Cherkassy* was regarded in Great Russia as a foreign invasion. In the most direct and literal sense, Peter's reform meant "Ukrainization" in the history of these ecclesiastical schools. The new Great Russian school was doubly foreign to its students: it was a school of "Latin learning" and "Cherkassian" teachers. (pp. 131–132)[6]

As for the culture created by the Kievans and their schools in Russia, Florovsky agrees with Prince N. S. Trubetskoi that the culture of post-Petrine Russia was "the organic and direct continuation not of Muscovite tradition, but of Kievan Ukrainian culture," but adds that "Only one reservation needs to be made: such a culture was too artificial and too forcibly introduced to be described as an 'organic continuation'" (p. 132).

Ways of Russian Theology must be read by anyone who wishes to appraise Mohyla and his period. It poses the central question of the role of Mohyla and his reforms in the evolution of Orthodoxy and all Christianity. Florovsky's own assessment is negative, hence he disagrees with the proponents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy who depict Mohyla and his school as a positive feature of their church and its contribution to world Orthodoxy. In addition, Florovsky condemns as a capitulation to Roman Catholicism Mohyla's efforts to restore the unity of Christian beliefs and to discuss a new union of churches.

The translation of Florovsky's work into English, as well as its recent republication in Russian, ensures that the debate over the Orthodoxy of Mohyla and his academy will continue. I leave it to theologians to carry on that discussion. Here I choose to deal with Florovsky's views of seventeenth-century Ukrainian cultural and intellectual history. In this area, despite the author's erudition and breadth of vision, Florovsky's work is profoundly flawed. Having declared that "unbiased history has never existed and never will," he makes clear that the

[6] Florovsky also cites a passage by P. Znamenskii, which in practice illustrates how different Ukrainian culture was from Russian.

"To the students all of these teachers quite literally seemed to be foreigners who had traveled from a far away land, as the Ukraine seemed at the time. The Ukraine possessed its own customs, conceptions, and even learning, coupled with a speech which was little understood and strange to the Great Russian ear. Moreover, not only did they not wish to adapt themselves to the youth they were supposed to educate or to the country in which they resided, but they also despised the Great Russians as barbarians. Anything which differed from that in the Ukraine became the object of mirth and censure. They exhibited and insisted upon everything Ukrainian as singularly better.

There is direct evidence that many of these emigrants remained unaccustomed to the Great Russian dialect and spoke Ukrainian" (pp. 131–32).

present needs of Orthodoxy are his chief concern. In fact, Father John Meyendorff points toward this major weakness of Florovsky as a cultural historian in the preface to the new Russian edition: "His basic concern was not idolatry of the past, but the problems of the present."[7]

Florovsky's account of the religious life of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ukraine shows little effort to describe or to understand the complexities of the culture of the age. Instead, there is the desire to distinguish correct from mistaken paths of development, and Mohyla and the Kiev Academy are seen as having taken the wrong turn. Even more disturbing is the lack of consideration of how the church fathers and the Slavonic-Greek culture could have satisfied the spiritual and cultural needs of the age. There is condemnation of the majority of clergymen, with praise for those few who chose Greek texts over Latin books, without any discussion of whether these were conscious choices. The two camps seem to be largely a construct of Florovsky's understanding of the needs of his own time, or of the eternal needs of Orthodoxy, rather than a description of early modern Ukrainian religious and cultural life. At times the placement of historical figures on one or the other side of the barricades strains reality. Florovsky tells us: "As an ecclesiastic, too, Smotritskii began in the Slavonic-Hellenic camp where he was a vigorous opponent of the *Unia*. It is enough to point to his *Lamentation* [*Threnos*] written in 1610, which describes the sufferings of the oppressed and persecuted Orthodox flock with a skillful combination of passion and rigor" (p. 66). But he does not mention that the only known text of *Threnos* is in Polish, and that its original was purported to be in Ruthenian, not in Slavonic. Whereas Florovsky places *Threnos* and Smotryts'kyi in the Slavonic-Hellenic camp, one of the prominent specialists of Ukrainian literature, Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, viewed *Threnos* as having a framework typical of the Baroque.[8] According to Čyževs'kyj, Vyshens'kyi, whom Florovsky places solidly in the Slavonic-Hellenic camp, was the first Ukrainian writer in whom signs of the Baroque style can be found, partially because there was an affinity between the Baroque and the Ukrainian religious style.[9] Florovsky's opposition of Baroque culture to Slavonic-Hellenic culture does not seem to hold true for the very

[7] Georgii Florovskii, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia,* 2nd ed., preface by John Meyendorff (Paris, 1981), p. vi.

[8] Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature (From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century),* ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Littleton, Colorado, 1975), p. 350.

[9] Čyževs'kyj, *History of Ukrainian Literature,* pp. 275–76.

authors whom he praises. The problem appears to be that Florovsky's creation of camps with completely opposed religious views, linguistic preferences, cultural sources, and literary styles does not correspond to the realities of seventeenth-century Ukraine, where the lines were neither so clearly nor so consistently drawn.

Like many Russian historians in the nineteenth century, Florovsky refuses to recognize any separate, valid development of Ukrainian history, culture and theology. Yet he condemns Ukrainians for the many characteristics, views, or sentiments that distinguish them from the Russians. He refuses to consider that there were "Ways of Ukrainian Theology" closely related to the Ukraine's "development." Here I venture to suggest that Florovsky's understanding of the needs of the present affected his evaluation of Mohyla's age. After all, *Ways of Russian Theology* was written in 1937, after the Ukrainian national revolution and the rebirth of a Ukrainian Orthodox church had occurred. In a number of instances Florovsky's opinions on the characteristics of Mohyla and his age and their lasting harmful influences in the Ukraine can be seen as a condemnation of Ukrainian Orthodoxy and the Ukrainian national movement.[10] I believe that divorcing his interpretation of religious history from his views on modern national and religious issues would make much of the emotion in his *Ways of Russian Theology* inexplicable.

To understand fully Florovsky's tone and terminology on complex

[10] Florovsky's criticism of historians who have delighted in describing transfer of culture from Kiev to a "semi-barbarous northeast" (p. 9) and his adamant assertion that there was no cultural break between Kievan Rus' and Suzdal/Muscovy seem to be intended to refute Ukrainian historians, in particular the Hrushevs'kyi school. His insistent condemnation of the Ukrainian Baroque — its literature, architecture, and art — is a negation of the period that his Ukrainian contemporaries, such as Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, considered the most distinctive and florescent period of Ukrainian culture. Florovsky makes clear that he sees a lasting negative influence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Ukrainian religious life to be "a lack of sobriety, an excess of emotionalism or heady exaltation," together with a "taint" of ineradicable Protestantism in mentality. These criticisms can readily be interpreted as directed toward the Ukrainian church movement and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Florovsky's statement that "In the most direct and literal sense, Peter's reform meant 'Ukrainization' in the history of these ecclesiastical schools" (p. 131) has the ring of a reaction to the events of the 1920s. This can best be understood by consulting the Russian original, in which everywhere else the word "Ukrainian" does not appear and "Little Russian" and "South-Russian" are used instead. Only in this one instance does the word "Ukrainization" occur, and even then it is in quotation marks: *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris, 1937), p. 98. Even in Florovsky's loyalty to Church Slavonic one can discern a dedication to a supranational language that avoids the use of the vernacular and undermines Ukrainian-Russian religious distinctiveness.

topics such as national and cultural relations the reader must turn to the Russian original. The translators openly admit their difficulty in dealing with its subtle and rich language. They claim to have opted for a comprehensible rather than a literal translation. While the translation is in general successful, at times the English reader will be puzzled. For instance, the rendering of the original's "razgovornyi iazyk ('russkii dialekt')" by "the local vernacular, the *russkii dialekt*" without any explanatory footnote is confusing, and many readers will not know that literary Ruthenian (middle Ukrainian) is meant. For some reason the translators chose to use the term *Unia,* rather than the English "Union." They tell us that any material added by the translators appears in square brackets. Neither the editor nor the translators state, however, that *Ways of Russian Theology* is a revised version of *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* containing numerous additions and changes. Thus in the Russian original a statement is attributed to Sylvester Kossov (p. 44) that in the English translation is attributed to "Gavriil Dometskoi" (p. 64). Entire sentences are added — such as the statement on the Union of Brest, "This same pattern was followed at a later date in other areas, in Transylvania and in the Carpatho-Russian region of Hungary" (p. 52) — that do not exist in the Russian original (the corresponding text appears on p. 38). Indeed, whole sections are rewritten. Since the project was undertaken under the direction of Father Florovsky, such rewriting might be expected, but it should have been mentioned in the preface to the English version. After all, it may mean that on some issues Father Florovsky's thought changed. Although I find no major changes on the issues discussed in this review, I am intrigued whether the translation of "South-Russian" and "Little Russian" as "Ukrainian" were done at Father Florovsky's behest or merely with his assent. While rendering Ukrainian names in Russian transliteration may be said to be in keeping with the tenor of the book, providing the Ukrainian transliteration as well would have been helpful to readers who know them in the Ukrainian form.

The translators and compilers have added numerous explanatory footnotes. In general these are accurate, although fn. 217, p. 308, which says that "During his rule Mazepa proved himself completely incapable of checking the gradual enserfment of the peasants and the creation of a new noble class of Cossack officers," clearly misrepresents the hetman's goals. One must regret that the translators did not include and update Florovsky's rich bibliography.

In contrast to Father Florovsky, who examines Mohyla's age against the measure of "true" Orthodoxy and finds it wanting, Ambroise Jobert focuses on the period's potential for the restoration of Christian unity. Jobert's particular interest is the "interconfessional" history of Poland-Lithuania, and this focus provides a dimension lacking in the first two works discussed. In particular, Jobert is favorably disposed toward the Uniates. He outlines with sympathy the attempts to modify the Union of Brest so as to make it more acceptable to the Ruthenians.

Only three of the fifteen chapters deal with the Eastern church (chapters 13, 14, 15, pp. 321–400). The study is based almost entirely on Polish scholarly literature and works in Western languages. Russian-language works are mentioned seldom and Ukrainian-language works not at all. While his study is not a comprehensive religious history of the Orthodox and the Uniates from the Union of Brest to the death of Mohyla, the author has made good use of the Vatican sources published by the Basilians after World War II.

On the whole, Jobert's account is in line with the tradition of Polish historiography, for it emphasizes the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's religious tolerance and the superiority of Latin Christian civilization. In accord with this tradition one of the author's tenets is that the Union, far from being a well-thought-out policy of Rome and Warsaw, occurred primarily because of the Ruthenian bishops' requests. Indeed, it is to lack of preparation that the author attributes the clumsy policies of both the Roman church and the Polish state. Furthermore, Jobert argues persuasively that post-Tridentine Rome evolved only slowly in its thinking on the question of union to the point of considering modifications. He then proceeds to discuss resistance to the Union until 1632, the organizational activities of the Uniates, and the emergence of the Mohylan Orthodox church. Focusing on the career of Uniate Metropolitan Iosyf Ruts'kyi, Jobert analyzes the difficulties placed before the Uniate clergymen because of the attitudes and activities of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. Finally he turns to Mohyla, whom he sees as harmonizing the influences of East and West (p. 369). Jobert maintains, however, that Mohyla's adaptation of Latin schooling came too late to preserve the position of the Orthodox church. Mohyla's *Confession of the Orthodox Church* Jobert describes as "crypto-Latin," because it resolves in favor of the Roman church all questions except those of the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the Primacy of the Papacy.

The third chapter on the Eastern church, "The Great Irenic Plan:

Władysław IV and Father Magni," makes the most use of new documentation. Jobert outlines the attempt to resolve religious dissension through discussions with both Protestants and Orthodox, and he emphasizes the influence of the Capuchin Valerian Magni. While his examination of the groups interested in new religious discussions and in the establishment of a Ruthenian patriarchate is cursory, he does discuss fully Father Athanasius Welykyj's findings on Mohyla's putative authorship of "Sententia cujusdam nobilis poloni graecae religionis." I question his acceptance of Father Welykyj's argument as incontrovertible proof of Mohyla's authorship, but I do agree that there is now strong evidence that the text was Mohyla and Adam Kysil's joint response to the call for union by Pope Urban VIII in 1643. The response minimizes doctrinal differences between the Roman Catholic and Ruthenian Orthodox churches, justifies a local union on the grounds that the patriarch of Constantinople was not able to make a free decision on the issue, and argues strongly for a new union that would preserve the distinctiveness of the Ruthenian church. The death of Mohyla on 1 January 1647 threw the negotiations into chaos. Subsequent negotiations between Mohyla's successor Kossov and Rome were, of course, soon disrupted by the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt. Jobert's sentiments on the grand irenic design and Mohyla's part in it are apparent in the quotation from Vladimir Solovev with which he concludes the book: "Orientals like Occidentals, we continue to be members of the indivisible Church of Christ. . . . Each of the churches is already the universal church, to the degree it strives not towards separatism, but toward union."

Jobert's work is an antidote to the militant Orthodox and anti-Polish tendencies so powerful in much of Russian and Ukrainian historiography. Particularly refreshing is its portrayal of Brest as the result of an unexpected chain of events, in which both Rome and Warsaw seized whatever opportunity for advantage was available. Also valuable is the account of the Uniates' developing views and programs, and of Rome's reluctant but important rethinking on the question of union. Without an examination of these events and positions, Mohyla and his policies cannot be understood or assessed.

Jobert's short account leaves much to be desired, however. It does not examine the cultural processes of the age, and it provides an extremely simplistic explanation of the Ruthenian capitulation to the attraction of a "superior civilization" (p. 342), saying nothing about the intricate negotiations and adaptations that preceded it. Although

Jobert does acknowledge the latent intolerance underlying official Polish toleration, particularly that of the Latin clergy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he does not give full weight to the force and intolerance at work in the events at Brest and during the first half of the seventeenth century. More troubling is his failure to examine the position of the Ruthenian church and the Orthodox perspective on the reunion of churches. Therefore Jobert does not fully discuss whether Mohyla may still be seen within the Orthodox tradition, the question posed so forcefully by Florovsky. In many ways, of course, Florovsky and Jobert concur about the Latinization of Mohyla and his church before they diverge about the inevitability and consequence of the process. But Jobert does not really discuss the question of Mohyla's Orthodoxy, although he correctly recognizes the Latin influences on Mohyla's *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* and the Latin categories in Mohyla's theology. Mohyla's negotiations for a new union are duly noted, but no consideration is given to whether Mohyla thought the negotiations could succeed and what kind of church he thought would emerge.

The problem of Mohyla's thinking on religious and ecclesiastical matters is taken up by Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi (Arcady Joukovsky) in his Ukrainian-language monograph. In fact, Zhukovs'kyi deals with far more than his title, "Peter Mohyla and the Problem of Unity of Churches," would indicate. He both discusses the various disputes about Mohyla (over such matters as Mohyla's national inclinations, cultural activities, church affairs, attitudes toward other faiths, and character traits) and gives a biographical sketch of Mohyla before turning to his stated topic. He explains that almost three-quarters of a century has passed since Golubev's monumental work on Mohyla was published and that in the interim new information and interpretations requiring consideration have emerged. That fortunate realization has provided us with a biography that sums up the state of research at least up to the late 1960s. It is also something of a cultural milestone, because, as Zhukovs'kyi points out, his work is the first Ukrainian-language monograph on Mohyla and his activities as a churchman, since all other Ukrainian-language works have dealt primarily with Mohyla's cultural milieu, rather than with the personality himself or his church activities. But what is a boon for the Ukrainian-speaking community is a loss for the international scholarly community, in the sense that those who do not read Ukrainian are deprived of a useful

compendium of questions and views on Mohyla and his period. Nevertheless they, too, can benefit from the appendix of twenty-six documents in Latin, Italian, and Polish, as well as Slavonic and Ukrainian (particularly on Mohyla's relations with Rome) gathered from numerous publications, and make good use of the extensive bibliography.

The first two of the three chapters in this nicely illustrated book are a summary of Mohyla's life and work and a presentation of various historians' views. Zhukovs'kyi does this well, although there are a few cases in which his characterizations may be questioned, such as his seeing "Polish messianism" in a Polish-language article by K. Kharlampovych (p. 35) and his unqualified classification of F. Ternovs'kyi, M. Petrov, and Kh. Titov as "Russian professors of the Kiev Academy." Obviously it is difficult to distinguish Russians from Ukrainians (or "Little Russians") in clerical circles, where Ukrainian consciousness was weakly developed before 1917, but descent and subsequent cultural-national affiliation should be indicated, particularly since "Great Russians" and "Little Russians" tended to diverge in their attitudes toward Mohyla. A more substantive criticism can be leveled at Zhukovs'kyi for his reluctance to distinguish serious scholarly work and views on Mohyla from uninformed or politically biased statements. At the same time, Zhukovs'kyi does not comment adequately on the dynamics of the development of what he aptly calls "Mohyloznavstvo," that is, studies on Mohyla.

It is the third chapter, discussing the question of the unity of the churches, that presents the most original interpretation. Zhukovs'kyi rightly criticizes Ukrainian historians for their neglect of ecclesiastical affairs and of the issue of Christian unity in studying the career of Mohyla. Undoubtedly this neglect often stemmed from religious conviction or indifference. Orthodox historians were uncomfortable with Mohyla's pro-Western leanings and discussions with Rome, whereas Uniate historians were embarrassed that the greatest Ukrainian religious and cultural leader of the seventeenth century was Orthodox and that he refused to accept the Union of Brest. Indifferent, agnostic, and atheist historians generally avoided ecclesiastical history altogether. Indeed it might be argued that Zhukovs'kyi's own work is connected with the religious ecumenism between Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox that has grown in recent decades in the West. If the reader does not know that Dr. Zhukovs'kyi is of Bukovinian descent (hence his interest in Romanian-Ukrainian relations) and an active participant in Ukrainian Orthodox affairs, he will be hard put to

find marked confessional preferences in the work itself. Such preferences are probably best summed up in a quotation Zhukovs'kyi takes from Mohyla's *Lithos*: "The Eastern Church always asks God for unity of the churches, but not for such unity as the present Union" (p. 199).

Zhukovs'kyi discusses Mohyla's contacts with Rome from the 1620s until his death in 1647. These include the debates at Orthodox councils of 1627–1628 over Meletii Smotryts'kyi's views, the synodal program for unity in 1629, the initiative of Prince Alexander Sangushko in 1636–1638, and the appeal of Urban VIII to Mohyla in 1643 and its results. At the author's disposal are the documentary publications and commentary of Šmurlo and Welykyj that did not exist in Golubev's time. The picture of Mohyla that emerges is of a man who sought to put an end to the religious struggle that had occupied the Ukraine and Belorussia for two generations, who saw relatively few dogmatic distinctions between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, and who believed that the dream of Christian unity might be achieved, at least on a local level, if respect could be maintained for the traditions and ecclesiastical structures of the Eastern church, and if a Kievan patriarchate could be created. By recounting the tangle of Mohyla's discussions with Rome, Zhukovs'kyi demonstrates how unprepared Rome was for the restructuring of the Christian church that would have made it truly catholic and how difficult an ecumenical stance was in the face of Catholic pressure and Orthodox resentment.

The uncertain attribution of documents and the cautious nature of interchanges make is almost impossible to describe how Mohyla really thought Christian unity could be achieved. It is hard to sift his tactical responses from his deeply held convictions. However, it is clear that Mohyla, with his insistence that Brest was unsatisfactory, that union did not mean uniformity and amalgamation, and that the prestige and the structure of the Eastern church must remain inviolable, had horizons much broader than those of the bishops who negotiated Brest. In particular, while he dealt with a local church, he never let the whole Eastern church fall from his purview. All this, of course, does not resolve the crucial question: Would Mohyla have agreed to a new union and how would he have viewed it — as conversion from Orthodoxy to Catholicism, or as restoration of early Christian unity? Since he did not agree, his Orthodoxy may be seen as Western-leaning but intact, and his reforms of schools and catechismal compilations as Latin-influenced but still Orthodox.

Although Zhukovs'kyi's recounting of Mohyla's contacts and views

are in general careful and judicious, twentieth-century Ukrainian church problems do occasionally intrude. I doubt whether Mohyla included a powerful laity within his concept of conciliarism (*sobornist'*) or that he approved heartily of it in the brotherhoods (p. 11). Can it really be maintained that his activities in 1632–1635 stemmed from the fact that he held a pro-statist viewpoint (*derzhavnyts'ka kontseptsiia* — a term sacrosanct for modern Ukrainian patriots), and therefore wished to have the church legalized (p. 205)? Is it correct that he wished to have the Ukrainian church develop independently from both Rome and Constantinople on a clear formulation of the concept of autocephaly that stimulated ideas for creating a Ukrainian patriarchate (p. 208)? I do not deny that Mohyla proposed some of the plans that live in Ukrainian church circles today, but I believe Zhukovs'kyi goes too far in having Mohyla speak directly to the modern Ukrainian ecclesiastical issues of conciliarism, autocephaly, and patriarchate. Finally, though Zhukovs'kyi has done great service in discussing Mohyla's views and actions within the Kiev metropolitanate, he has done too little to present them in the context of Western and Eastern ecclesiastical relations of the period or to place Mohyla within the age-old process of Orthodox-Catholic relations.

William K. Medlin and Christos G. Patrinelis are primarily concerned not with ecclesiastical structures, but with cultural and social change. Their goal is to understand socio-political structures and cultural-intellectual processes among the East Slavs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (p. 9). The authors pose their hypotheses thus:

> We are looking at intellectual changes in terms of a major shift from *traditional* forms of beliefs, grounded in inherited rituals and strongly linked to kinship ties in the old social system, toward intellectual processes and values based more on *nationality* and new ethnic identifications. These new cultural interests required different kinds of communication systems, lacking in the traditional culture, which led to a further development in educational services (p. 10)

Thus Medlin and Patrinelis set out to analyze patterns in education and intellectual life among the East Slavs, in expectation of revealing the dynamics of these processes. They say that their study addresses both those interested in the specific culture and those interested in the general cultural phenomena.

The examination of change in the Slavic world in a comparative context is, of course, just the kind of work Western specialists should

excel at, as they leave the amassing of detailed data to those close to each unique culture. But apart from some useful observations about cultural crisis, about social groups during cultural change, and about stages in educational reform, this book does not fulfill its promise. There is no rigorous description of the cultural context and no careful definition or consistent meaning for such terms as "nationalism," "renaissance," and "national culture." Above all, the authors' historical knowledge and reading of source materials are insufficient for their purpose. This is not to say that their study is not valuable, however. For one thing, it points to questions that need to be researched. Another unexpected but welcome bonus, alluded to in the subtitle, is information on the continuous and powerful Greek influence on Ukrainians, Belorussians and Russians.

The study focuses on the East Slavs' response to challenge from Western societies. Medlin and Patrinelis maintain that "To survive as a national culture meant to succeed in both mental and physical combat with their neighbors" (p. 11), and that this challenge was posed to "all the Orthodox peoples of Rus'," and not only to the Muscovites (p. 11). They see the alternatives facing "Russian," or more specifically Muscovite, culture as having been three: "to engage in extensive cultural contacts and borrowing from Western Europe (Latin-based, both Catholic and Protestant) institutions; to renew, or revive, the Greco-Byzantine traditions in the context of Russian needs and interests; or to rely exclusively on parochial, and especially Muscovite, Russian culture as the substance of intellectual processes, social institutions, and body of knowledge" (p. 77). In their view Muscovy operated primarily with the third alternative until the mid-seventeenth century, when it began to adopt the cultural reforms already implemented in the Ukraine and Belorussia. Hence, the first part of their study outlines the process by which Muscovy chose the third alternative, a process tempered by important Greek influences. The second part examines the cultural history of the Ukraine and Belorussia, which culminated in the period 1625 to 1646, that is, the time of Peter Mohyla and his school, described as "a cultural turning point, the beginning of a string of intellectual lights, throughout the lands of Orthodox Rus.'"

This second part, entitled "Greek and West European influences in Orthodox Ruthenia (*Southwestern Rus'*) on Church, Schools, and Society," comprises four chapters. The first, "The Institutional and Historical Backgrounds of Socio-Cultural Change," is a five-page

description replete with errors. The lack of reference to basic Ukrainian (Hrushevs'kyi, except for the popular English translation of his "Illustrated History of the Ukraine," Kryp"iakevych, Isaievych) and Polish (Chodynicki, Woliński, Łoziński, Ptaśnik) scholarly literature is surprising. But even familiarity with nineteenth-century Russian-language works should have yielded a more coherent and correct presentation. Many of the errors are factual — for instance, "the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy had in 1387 ruled that Roman Catholicism was the state religion, and that only members of the Roman Church could enjoy civil rights" (the Orthodox nobles in Poland had already been afforded equality), that "the introduction of the Magdeburg law into Poland [came] during the latter part of the 16th century" (Magdeburg law came as early as the thirteenth century), and that "A second major institutional development occurred in 1563, when Polish King Sigismund II and the Lithuanian State acknowledged the civil equality of non-Catholic gentry. This measure received confirmation by later sovereigns, and it manifestly laid the legal basis for Orthodox and Protestant elites to assert their social identity and cultural aims" (all members of the gentry [non-princes] won civil equality in 1563; religious liberty for the Orthodox had been guaranteed a century before, and only the last constraints, about high offices in Lithuanian territory, were abolished in the 1560s). Five developments are said to define the course of social change in Rus': (1) the introduction of Magdeburg law and urban guilds, (2) the granting of rights to non-Catholic communities, (3) increasing contacts with the Orthodox patriarchates, (4) the rise of urban Rus' elements and economic growth, and (5) the formation of educational institutions. These factors were certainly of great importance, but the authors weaken their argument with ill-informed interpretations. For instance, the influence of Magdeburg law cannot be assessed without considering its negative, as well as positive, impact on Orthodox communities such as that of Lviv, where that law long excluded the Orthodox from political and economic roles. Any discussion of enfranchisement and toleration of Orthodox citizens should also deal with the Orthodox privileges guaranteed in 1434, the Union of Lublin of 1569, and the Confederation of Warsaw of 1573. Some interpretations offered here contradict accepted scholarly opinions, such as that the burghers increased their political power in the Polish-Lithuanian state in the latter half of the sixteenth century and that the Polish administration "imposed" its laws on property rights and relations in the lands of Rus'.

It is the second chapter of part 2 that shows how extensive Greek activity in the Ukraine and Belorussia was and how deeply Greeks were influenced by Western learning and thought. This topic has been all too little studied, leaving most specialists in East European history at a loss to explain the political and cultural influences of the Eastern patriarchates. An interesting twist in Medlin and Patrinelis's discussion is to see a certain unity for "progressive" purpose — that is, in favor of change both in Greek and in Western influences. This sometimes leads to strange statements. For instance, in discussing the attacks on Mohyla's Orthodoxy at the Council of Jassy (1642) they write: "Therefore the Ruthenians, more precisely the Kievan envoys of Mohyla, were branded as 'crypto-Latinized,' a rather unfair accusation since Mohyla and the circle of the Orthodox scholars around him were much more 'progressive' in several fields than were the Greeks." While their designation of the Greeks as a conduit of new ideas and ways is undoubtedly correct, their superficial assessment of "progressive" forces leads them to the strange juxtaposition of "crypto-Latinism" and "progressiveness."

The third chapter shows how new educational and literary practices transformed Orthodox "Russian" culture. Among the changes were the spread of printing and new formal education, particularly the brotherhood schools. Although they recognize the conservative nature of this cultural reform, the authors maintain that "it came in response to some important social, economic, and political developments in Orthodox Rus', and that it genuinely aimed at raising society's intellectual level and at sharpening the native Orthodox consciousness of its civilizing mission in that area of Europe" (p. 118).

Their emphasis is on the introduction of new "rational" thought patterns and on the appearance of urban and secular elements in education. Unquestionably, the authors point to some fundamental aspects of the cultural change in Rus' that contain these elements — above all the role of the urban brotherhoods. However, their analysis would have benefited from a more careful use of such terms as "secular," "urban," and "rational," particularly since the schools of the Commonwealth that served as the model for Orthodox Rus' were frequently religious institutions educating a landed nobility, and culture was becoming less urban and less "rational" in the seventeenth-century Commonwealth. Presumptions such as that the nobles who supported the Luts'k brotherhood were "urban gentry leaders" place the whole analysis under suspicion (p. 101). Questionable or incorrect

statements such as that two-thirds of the Ruthenians accepted the Union (p. 99) or that the Greeks of Lviv were the most numerous ethnic group in the city's merchant community (p. 110) undermine the authority of their analysis of cultural transformation. Ultimately, it is the information on Greek contacts that is most valuable, together with the assessment that Latin and Greek influences, whatever their different emotive connotations for Orthodox Ruthenians, combined as forces for change against Ruthenian traditionalism.

In the next chapter the founding of the Mohyla school is depicted as the acme of intellectual ferment in Rus'. Mohyla is rightly adjudged "the person who seemed to grasp fully and unequivocally the needs of the times" (p. 129), and who could build upon the Kievan achievements of the 1610s and 1620s. The archimandrites of the Caves Monastery, Ielysei Pletenets'kyi (1599–1624) and Zakharii Kopysten-s'kyi (1624–1627), and the metropolitan of Kiev Iov Borets'kyi (1620–1631) are credited with making Kiev the major educational and publishing center of Rus'. The authors are correct in asserting that the shift toward Latin learning had begun before Mohyla, albeit against conservative opposition. Mohyla, as archimandrite of the Caves Monastery from 1627 and metropolitan of Kiev from 1633, fused and fostered these elements at the collegium founded in 1632. Medlin and Patrinelis consider Mohyla's choice of Latin models as both laudable and necessary to provide the Rus' culture with the intellectual tools to deal with the West.

Here, as elsewhere, the authors pose important questions concerning problems of urbanization, cultural ferment, intellectual reforms, and a resultant "new sense of religious, ethnic identity, or consciousness." The rise of Kiev as the center of Rus' culture is duly noted, but little explanation is given for the reemergence of the ancient city as the "capital" of the Rus' lands. In speaking of the "return of relative security" to Kiev the authors mention Muscovite triumphs over the distant eastern Muslim khanates, but say nothing about the protection from the Crimean Khanate due to the policies of the Polish-Lithuanian state. In pointing to the wealth of Kiev's three great Orthodox institutions — the metropolitan see, the brotherhood, and the Caves Monastery — as a reason for Kiev's revival, they neglect to mention the return of the metropolitans to Kiev at the end of the sixteenth century after their long refuge in the safer Belorussian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They recognize the importance of the laity's support of the Kievan clergy's efforts, but their description is mislead-

ing, because it implies that all the families of prominent "citizen-supporters" — e.g., "the Koretskii, Ostrozhskii, El'tsov, Khorlinskii" —were burgher residents of Kiev, rather than noble landlords usually residing far from the city.

In describing the cultural ferment in Kiev, which they say reflected a "real and growing need for higher concepts of man and society, family, and individual discipline in social relations" (p. 128), the authors show how the process of cultural change developed (in the 1610s and 1620s) and how the clerical elite rapidly responded (admittedly from a conservative desire to preserve the position of the church). Iov Borets'kyi, "illegal" metropolitan from 1620 to 1631, is depicted as a dynamic leader, open to change and adaptation. While this interpretation has a certain merit, against the traditional view of Borets'kyi as a stout defender of Orthodox tradition, I am surprised that the authors make their evaluation so categorically, without mentioning other views. Also, the authors' reliance on Oleksandr Kasymenko and the *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia* as major sources on Borets'kyi reinforces my doubts about the sources for their interpretation, as does their comment that "Boretskyi had gained some support in Moscow for his new policies [that is, of change and adaptation — F. S.]" (p. 134). I know of no evidence that Moscow even knew about any such policies.

In describing the intellectual response to the cultural ferment, the authors are on firmer, if not solid, ground. The object of their unstinting praise is Mohyla, whom they see as having the necessary requisites of high birth in Moldavia, connections with the best families of the Commonwealth, knowledge of Greek, Slavonic, and Latin cultures, and unbounded energy as an organizer. But they make a number of errors and telling omissions in their discussion of Mohyla. Peter Mohyla's father Simeon was not "the Prince of Volshchina in Wallachia" (p. 131). Their description of the opposition of monks at the Caves Monastery to Mohyla's educational plans and the support of the Epiphany Brotherhood's leaders for them has no basis in any sources I know. Their failure to mention that the pre-1632 hierarchy was "illegal" in the eyes of the Polish government or that the entire hierarchy was replaced in 1632 makes their account of Mohyla's career difficult to understand.

In discussing Mohyla's achievements in education, Medlin and Patrinelis say Mohyla "sensed how to seize opportunities for action in order to edify a cause," and accepted the international Latin culture to

shore up the Orthodox (p. 135). Above all they praise him for providing the "university curriculum, which was the very heart of non-religious culture espoused by both Reformation and Counter-Reformation" (p. 128). For them this incorporation of the Latin curriculum decided a number of fundamental questions:

> Were the peoples of Orthodox Slavdom indeed going to commune with the rational culture restored from the classical world in order to nurture disciplined men, to broaden the horizon of public decision-makers and economic managers, and to create a fund of knowledge for posterity? From such activities the modern nation-state with its wider boundaries for self-development and social fulfillment was being forged. Could the peoples of Rus' afford not to take up the challenge, and, as had done most of the peoples of Western Europe, ready themselves for the march toward enlightenment, progress, and human dignity?
>
> Petr Mohyla, just as Petr Romanov after him, was determined that those cultural goals that were within his reach would be fixed upon enlightenment. (p. 145)

The sobering words in this tall order are surely "within his reach," which properly should be "within his horizons." It is hard to conceive that Mohyla was concerned about the training of economic managers or the development of modern nation-states. Granted, these consequences might well have derived from Mohyla's decision, even if he did not foresee them, but I still must question whether the impact went that far. Medlin and Patrinelis correctly emphasize the tremendous increase in knowledge and change in thought patterns inherent in the adoption of the Jesuit curriculum by an Orthodox institution. They are quite right to see the achievements of the medieval and early modern Latin West as ultimately the foundations for secular learning, nation-states, and scientific breakthroughs. But by the mid-seventeenth century the Jesuit academy was no longer at the forefront of learning. Far from inspiring secular learning or civic virtues conducive to a modern nation-state, its Polish variants supported religious obscurantism, destructive Sarmatian megalomania, and the disintegration of the apparatus of the state. The Kiev Academy did, of course, represent an important phase in the intellectual history of the Eastern Slavs. The secular thought and state-building that Medlin and Patrenelis are ultimately interested in may have depended on Kievan learning and Kievan cadres — but they did not come primarily from Kiev, but by transplantation from northern and western, particularly Protestant, Europe to eighteenth-century St. Petersburg.

The authors raise the problems of national sentiment, national

culture, and political structure, but fail to deal with them satisfactorily. Use of the terms is remarkably imprecise and connection with Mohyla's reforms is only loosely drawn. The authors recognize the period as one of rising national consciousness in Rus', but they do not state clearly that this phenomenon often challenged the traditionalist, universalist world view of Orthodoxy and was not knowingly fostered by the Orthodox hierarchs. If "national" and "ethnic" issues are indeed important to Medlin and Petrinelis, they have impeded understanding of them by terminological confusion. Consider the following: "Ruthenia (Western and Southern Ukraine)" (p. 73), "Greek residents figured prominently alongside active Ruthenian families . . . and they often had certain advantages over the Russians" (p. 110); "of both east Russian (Moscovite) and west Russian (Kievan and Lithuanian) Orthodox churches" (p. 125); "Russian-Ruthenian Orthodox clerics" (p. 120, fn. 3a), "Western Russia," "Ruthenian," "Western Rus'" (p. 102); "Orthodox *Rusaki*" (p. 153); "within the several Russian nationality areas" (p. 10); "Western and Southern Russia" (p. 80); "At Kiev, . . . the indigeneous clergy (Ruthenians of *Malaia Rus'*, or 'Ukraine')" (p. 105); "This fact and its [Lviv's] largely Russian speaking population made it by the end of the 16th century the strongest bastion of Orthodox culture in Western Russia" (p. 104). The reader's head spins from the multitude of national and territorial designations, and no attempt is made by the authors to discuss what "Rus'," "Rossija," and "Rus'kyi narod" meant at the time. Their general argument seems to be that a rise in national consciousness, like the cultural reforms of Mohyla, occurred in "Southwest Russia" before 1648 and was subsequently transferred to "Muscovite Russia." There it developed into the identity of Imperial Russia, which, in time, came to encompass "South West Russia." Regrettably, Muscovy is often needlessly included in events and processes occurring in the Ukraine, leading to such absurdities as associating the Union of Brest with the causes of Muscovy's collapse in the Time of Troubles (p. 154).

In general the authors offer inadequate discussion of consciousness, communities, and polities. They do not undertake to define what national consciousness was in Rus' and how it related to religious issues. Little attention is paid to the political reality and political culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to which Mohyla himself was profoundly loyal, particularly in preference over Muscovy. Finally, there is no recognition or consideration that the rise of national consciousness in Rus' may have been distinctly "Ruthenian"

or Ukrainian rather than "Russian," and that the self-identification may have been not only separate from the Poles, but also separate from the Muscovites. In the book's introduction Sir Steven Runciman asks: "What do we mean by Russia? The 'Great Russians' of Muscovy had different problems and a different outlook from those of the 'Little Russians' of Ruthenia and the Ukraine" (p. 8). Had Medlin and Patrinelis kept this question in mind and compared rather than artificially combined the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Muscovy, they could have studied whether the cultural elements reinforcing the distinctiveness of Ruthenians and Muscovites were as strong, or stronger, than the factors establishing communality. Recognizing this possibility would have helped them assess the real role of Mohyla and the Rus' revival in changing Muscovite culture and in formulating the Imperial Russian identity during the eighteenth century.

***

Of the publications reviewed here, only one, that of Florovsky, contributes a thought-provoking interpretation to studies on Mohyla and his school, and hence to research on seventeenth-century Ukrainian culture, albeit in a sweeping criticism. But while these latest works do not break new ground, they nonetheless acquaint the Western reader with the gamut of issues surrounding Mohyla and the collegium. In the foreseeable future Western scholars will probably have relatively little opportunity to add new data about these topics, since the Vatican archives have already been mined by the Basilian Fathers and Soviet archives will continue to offer limited access. Hence their major effort should be to examine carefully the large body of sources and to make them available through republication. At the same time, they should view Mohyla and his enterprise with new eyes, so as to discuss their diverse aspects without the blinders of nineteenth-century East European or contemporary Soviet scholarship. To do so they must gain mastery over the sources and secondary literature and command of modern historical issues and methodology. What are the major areas that should be examined and what questions remain to be answered?

Despite the scholarly work that has already been done, Mohyla has yet to be placed authoritatively within the history of the Christian church and its two "universal" branches. First his dogmas and ecclesiological views should be reanalyzed, although work in this area is

already impressive, if at times biased. Indeed how close we shall ever be able to come to knowing Mohyla's personal goals and vision may be in question. Even if, as seems likely, the categories, structures, and educational program of Mohylan Orthodoxy borrowed much from the Latins, whether this meant the distortion of Orthodoxy, as opposed to adoption of universal Christian traditions, will long be disputed. What will await additional, and probably non-existent, archival finds is the question of whether a new, partial church union was really Mohyla's goal.

Scholars should also examine the lasting significance of the Orthodoxy of the Mohylan age. Even had the political changes of 1648 not occurred in Eastern Europe, the impact of Mohyla and his school on the Orthodox world would have been great. The events of 1648 merely strengthened Orthodoxy's position in the Ukraine, whereas those of 1654 at Pereiaslav and the Nikonian reforms opened Muscovy to their dissemination. The influence of Mohyla on the Orthodox world and his relations with the Eastern patriarchates should be looked at again. At the same time, Mohyla's contribution to Ukrainian Orthodoxy should be assessed, particularly his relations with the brotherhoods, and the Orthodox laity — burghers, Cossacks, and nobles. We should also evaluate to what degree he sought to raise the prestige of the Kievan see and to emphasize the autonomy and distinctiveness of his local church.

Apart from their religious significance, Mohyla and his school must be examined in their relation to the political institutions of Eastern Europe. Historians have long focused on the religious situation in Poland-Lithuania, with some dealing particularly with the religious persecution of the Orthodox and others underlining the unique degree of religious toleration in the Commonwealth. Orthodoxy's fundamental problem in medieval Poland and Lithuania was to find a place in a Catholic state. Its problem in the sixteenth-century Commonwealth was to compete with Protestant and Catholic intellectual and organizational challenges. But by the early seventeenth century its problem was simply to survive. In the first quarter century, the Orthodox church showed that neither government policy nor the Union of Brest could obliterate the church. In the Mohyla years, a new, less doctrinaire king sought to come to grips with Orthodox survival. The 1632 "legal" hierarchy of Mohyla was to be the cornerstone of this new royal policy. The government's concessions of bishoprics to the Orthodox and recognition of the collegium were bought by the Orthodox hierarchy's

break with the rebellious Cossacks and by their pledge of loyalty toward the Commonwealth's foreign policies, particularly vis-à-vis Muscovy. The situation afforded Mohyla an opportunity to restore hierarchical control, so long undermined by nobles, brotherhoods, and Cossacks, and to limit ecclesiastical interference by the Eastern patriarchs. What has yet to be determined is whether the accommodation was really workable. Could any Polish king secure a place for the Orthodox church in the face of the deepening influences of the Counter-Reformation, steadfast papal opposition and protests from the Uniates? Could any Orthodox metropolitan create a stable church loyal to the Commonwealth while dealing with the defection of his upper-class faithful, the antagonism of the Uniates, the opposition of Catholic landlords influenced by the Counter-Reformation, and the hatred of the Orthodox masses for the socio-political system of the Commonwealth?

Certainly Mohyla's achievements in dealing with the government were great. They were motivated, above all, by dedication to the Commonwealth that guaranteed the personal and collective liberties of his nobiliary order. Hence he sought to preserve the ways of the Commonwealth that had existed before the Counter-Reformation. However non-traditional his vision of the church-state relation was for an Orthodox clergyman, he seemed to prefer the difficulties of a predominantly Catholic Commonwealth to the religious certainties but political shackles of the Muslim Porte or even of Orthodox Muscovy. Clearly we must examine anew the relation of Mohyla's Orthodoxy to the political and social forces at work in the Commonwealth, Muscovy, the Ottoman Empire, and among the Ruthenians. In this relation lay the seeds of the Ukraine's political fortunes well into the eighteenth century.

Inevitably we must assess the influence of Mohyla and his collegium/academy on national cultures and national consciousness in Eastern Europe. The fundamental questions are: What did Mohyla and his school contribute to Ukrainian/Ruthenian national culture and consciousness? To what degree did Mohyla's reforms prepare the way for the creation of a Russian culture and consciousness which subsumed the culture and consciousness of the Ukraine and Belorussia under new political circumstances? In his use of language, historical knowledge, ancient buildings, and local patriotism, Mohyla was involved in the process of shaping Ruthenian national consciousness and hence in the process of forming the modern Ukrainian nation. Much has been written on this topic, but all too often from a priori evaluations of

Mohyla and from a desire to see his influence as being clear and coherent rather than ambivalent and contradictory. We must recognize, of course, that intent can play little part in the discussion, since the Moldavian-born Mohyla was only tangentially interested in problems of Ukrainian "nation-building." The whole problem deserves further research and examination.

In contrast to the issue of national culture and consciousness, our evaluation of the effects of Mohyla's reform on cultural change and society should take into account his perception of that society, his plans for change, and his steps to implement those plans. We lack his direct statements in these matters, which could confirm our observations. Nevertheless, we do have sufficient indirect statements to permit discussion. Mohyla's autograph stories, notes, and letters allow for an analysis of world view that can rarely be undertaken for a seventeenth-century East European. Golubev's "biography" of Mohyla is actually a history of an age, an account of its accomplishments, rather than a study focused on one of its prominent individuals. While I doubt we need a psychohistory of Mohyla, we do need a careful analysis of his statements, yielding solid information about his views and values. Mohyla is one of those rare individuals who put a personal stamp on his age. He did not work alone, however. We need to know about his colleagues — where they came from, what backgrounds and education they had, what they did, and what they set out to do. We have pieces of the puzzle, but lack cogent analyses. Still more telling, we know too little about Ruthenian society — its general needs and its specific reactions to Mohyla. What strata desired his reforms? Who made use of the collegium and its publications? How did the curriculum fulfill their needs? Medlin and Petrinelis rightly say that we must look at the "traditional" culture, the challenge to it, the sectors of society awakened to the need for change (brotherhoods, nobles), and the sources of reform, Latin and Greek. But their sketchy and faulty treatment does not begin to do justice to the topic.

The very sweep and extent of the topics on which research is necessary is the best proof of the importance of Peter Mohyla and his school. Until now Western scholarship has done too little to advance our knowledge about this remarkable man and the collegium that he founded.

Harvard University

Pierre Mohyla (Petru Movilă) et la Roumanie: Essai historique et bibliographique*

MATEI CAZACU

L'historiographie roumaine a découvert (ou redécouvert) Pierre Mohyla (Petru Movilă) au début du XIX^e siècle, lorsque les premiers étudiants roumains en Russie Imperiale, Gheorghe Asaki (1788–1869),[1] Alexandru Hăjdău (ou: Hâjdău) (1811–1872),[2] mais surtout les théologiens Vasile (moine Filaret) Popescu-Scriban (1811–1873; à l'Académie de Kiev 1839–1842), Mihai (moine Melchisedec) Ştefănescu (1823–1892; maître en théologie et lettres de Kiev, 1851) et Ghenadie Enăceanu Craioveanu (1835–1898; à Kiev 1860–1865), eurent identifié

* La forme roumaine courante est *Movila* (aussi Movilă). Les sources slavones et roumaines des XV^e–XVII^e siècles emploient trois formes. Dans les plus anciennes mentions, le nom est *Mohyla* et *Mogila* (dès 1490). Le forme *Movilă* apparaît en 1548. Voir le relevé de Gh. Bolocan et collaborateurs, *Dicţionarul elementelor româneşti din documentele slavo-române. 1374–1600* (Le Dictionnaire des termes roumains dans les documents slavo-roumains. 1374–1600) (Bucarest, 1981), pp. 147–48. A noter aussi la forme *Movilović* qui date de 1590: E. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina* (Vienne, 1903), p. 134, note 3; P. S. Năsturel, "Minutiae variae. A propos de la chronique murale de Suceava," *Cyrillomethodianum,* 7 (Thessalonique, 1983): 44. Grigore Ureche (c. 1590–1647), le premier chroniqueur moldave qui écrit en roumain, préfère la forme *Movilă*. Voir *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei. Ediţie îngrijită, studiu introductiv, indice şi glosar de* P. P. Panaitescu (Les Annales de la Moldavie. Edition, étude préliminaire, indice et glossaire par . . .) (Bucarest, 1955), pp. 200, 205. Miron Costin (1633–1691), un autre historien moldave, emploie les deux formes. Cf. *Opere,* éd. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucarest, 1958), pp. 44, 57–58. Nicolae Costin (vers 1660–1712), fils de Miron, utilise la forme *Movilă*. Cf. *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei dela zidirea lumii până la 1601* (Les Annales de la Moldavie depuis la Création jusqu'à l'an 1601), éd. I. St. Petre (Bucarest, 1942), pp. 556, 583. Ion Neculce (1672–1745), le dernier grand chroniqueur moldave, emploie les deux formes *Moghilă* et *Movilă*.

[1] Il fait des études à Lviv entre 1797 et 1804 et, peut-être, à Odessa.

[2] Il fait des études de droit à Xarkiv où il passe une thèse en 1830 avec le titre "De l'influence des lois de l'empereur Alexandre Ier sur l'instruction et la morale en Russie."

dans la personne du savant métropolite de Kiev du XVII[e] siècle un compatriote qui n'avait jamais oublié ses origines et son pays natal.[3]

Jusqu'au début du XX siècle, ce furent surtout les théologiens qui s'occupèrent de Pierre Mohyla: Barbu Constantinescu (1837–1891) qui était professeur à la Faculté de théologie de Bucarest, Constantin Erbiceanu (1838–1913) qui avait enseigné à Socola, en Moldavie, puis au Séminaire central et à la Faculté de théologie de Bucarest, enfin, N. Mateescu dont le livre de 1896 était une thèse présentée à la Faculté de théologie de Bucarest.

Il fallut attendre l'année 1926 pour que paraisse une synthèse traitant de l'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mohyla dans les pays roumains. Cet ouvrage était dû à un jeune slavisant roumain, Petre P. Panaitescu (1900–1967) qui avait fait des études sérieuses en Pologne et en France. Contrairement à ses prédécesseurs, Panaitescu ne croyait pas Mohyla "un fils perdu pour la nation [roumaine] et son oeuvre (. . .) en dehors du domaine intellectuel roumain."[4] Les arguments qu'il présente pour soutenir sa thèse conservent, aujourd'hui encore, toute leur valeur: les essais répétés de Petru ("Pătraşco vodă", le prince Pătraşco) pour occuper le trône de la Moldavie entre 1621 (guerre de Xotyn/Chocim/Hotin) et 1627, lorsque son parent, Miron Barnovski Movilă est élu prince de ce pays, constituent un premier indice. C'est après cet événement que Petru se fait moine, tout en gardant le nom de la Moldavie dans sont titre de *voevodič zemli moldavskoj,* donc de fils de prince. Le nom du pays disparaît de son titre après 1632 lorsque son frère Moïse devient à son tour prince de la Moldavie et reste par la suite le

[3] Voir notamment P. Mihailovici, "Legături culturale bisericeşti dintre Români şi Ruşi în secolele XV–XX. Schiţă istorică" (Les liens culturelles et ecclésiastiques entre les Roumains et les Russes aux XV[e]–XX[e] siècles. Esquisse historique), *Revista Societăţii istorice-arheologice-bisericeşti* (Kišinev/Chişinău), 22 (1932): 199–276; V. Pocitan, "Studenţi teologi moldoveni la Academia spirituală din Kiev" (Les étudiants en théologie moldaves à l'Académie théologique de Kiev), *Biserica ortodoxă română* (Bucarest), 43 (1945): 560–70; Gh. I. Moisescu, "Bursieri români la şcolile teologice din Rusia 1845–1856" (Les boursiers roumains aux écoles théologique russes de 1845 à 1856), *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 43 (1945): 722–56; 44 (1946): 247–57; G. Bezviconi, *Contribuţii la istoria relaţiilor româno-ruse (din cele mai vechi timpuri până la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea)* (Contributions à l'histoire des relations roumano-russes. Depuis l'époque la plus ancienne et jusqu'au milieu du XIX[e] siècle) (Bucarest, 1962), pp. 267–72 (Gh. Asaki); 285–89 (Al. Hâjdău); 305–306 (les étudiants en théologie); M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe române* (Histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe roumaine), vol. 3 (Bucarest, 1981), pp. 373–78, 385.

[4] "L'Influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Moghila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les principautés roumaines," *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France* (Paris), 5 (1926): 10.

prétendant officiel de la famille à cette dignité. Enfin, comme une preuve de la conscience qu'il avait de ses origines roumaines, on constate qu'il parle dans sa correspondance, à plusieurs reprises, de ses ancêtres roumains. De même, en 1631, lorsqu'il répare le couvent de Holosijeve, il choisit de le mettre sour le patronage de saint Jean le Nouveau de Suceava, protecteur de sa Moldavie natale.

Le petit livre de P. P. Panaitescu a introduit dans le circuit de l'historiographie roumaine les résultats des recherches menées depuis le milieu du XIXᵉ siècle par les savants ukrainiens, polonais et russes, recherches complétées et parfois corrigées grâce aux sources roumaines. Ce travail standard nous dispensera d'entrer dans les détails et nous permettra de passer en revue les principaux domaines où les historiens roumains ont apporté des contributions originales à la biographie de Mohyla. Ces domaines sont au nombre de trois: (1) La généalogie et le rôle politique de la famille Movilă aux XVI–XVIIᵉ siècles en Moldavie, en Valachie, en Ukraine et en Pologne; (2) Les relations culturelles de Pierre Mohyla avec la Moldavie et la Valachie; (3) Le synode de Iaşi de 1642 et "La Confession orthodoxe" de Pierre Mohyla.

Dans la première partie de notre essai, nous nous arrêterons sur le premier des ces trois domaines at aussi sur les premières années de la vie de Mohyla, plus précisément jusqu'en 1621. Nous avons choisi cette dernière date parce que, après l'échec de l'expédition de Xotyn, Mohyla a moins de liens avec la Moldavie en tant que prétendant au trône. Son entrée en religion de 1627 marque une étape décisive dans son existence et la fin, ou presque, de sa carrière moldave.

La seconde partie du présent essai prendra forme d'une bibliographie raisonée, consacrée au deuxième et troisième domaines.

I. Les racines roumaines de la famille de Pierre Mohyla-Movilă

La famille Movilă a donné à la Moldavie et à la Valachie pas moins de huit princes qui ont régné entre 1595 et 1634, en totalisant plus de 26 ans ininterrompus. Ceci permet de définir cette époque, en Moldavie, comme l'époque des Movilă.[5]

Les huit princes représentent deux générations issues des deux frères

[5] Ou des *Movileşti* qui est la forme come collective de *Movilă*.

Ieremia et Simion. Ieremia régne en Moldavie de 1595 à 1606, avec une interruption de cinq mois en 1600. Son frère Simion, le père de Pierre Mohyla-Movilă (= PM), occupe d'abord le trône de Valachie de novembre 1600 à juillet 1601, puis de novembre 1601 à juillet 1602. Il finira ses jours comme prince de Moldavie où il fut nommé, à la suite de la mort de son frère, le 30 juin 1606. Son règne commence effectivement vers le 10 juillet, car du 30 juin à cette date la veuve de Ieremia essaya d'imposer son fils mineur Constantin. Simion meurt en septembre 1607 empoisonné, semble-t-il, par sa belle-soeur Ecaterina Lozonski, la veuve de Ieremia.

Dans la seconde génération nous enregistrons comme princes de Moldavie deux fils de Ieremia: Constantin (1607–1611, avec des interruptions) et Alexandru (1615–1616), et trois descendants de Simion: Mihail (1607), Gavriil (en Valachie, 1618–1620) et Moise (1630–1631, 1633–1634). Enfin, un dernier Movilă, Miron Barnovski, régna en Moldavie de 1626 à 1629 et en 1633. Il descendait des Movilă par sa mère Elena (nonne Elisabeta), cousine germaine de Ieremia et de Simion.[6]

L'époque des Movilă est considérée dans l'historiographie roumaine comme la période de la plus forte influence de la Pologne dans l'histoire de la Moldavie. Cet impact politique, économique et culturel n'était pas nouveau; il prend, cependant, de l'importance dans la seconde moitié du XVI[e] siècle, lorsqu'on assiste à la formation d'un parti philopolonais structuré autour des familles Movilă, Balica, Stroici, Ureche, Barnovski et Costin (ces derniers un peu plus tard). Toutes ces familles étaient apparentées entre elles et bénéficièrent, toutes, de l'indigénat polonais.[7]

[6] Pour ce prince voir les ouvrages de A. H. Golimas et notamment *Un domnitor. O epocă. Vremea lui Miron Barnovschi Moghilă, voievod al Moldovei* (Un prince. Une époque. L'époque de Miron Barnovschi Moghilă, prince de Moldavie) (Bucarest, 1980), avec une riche bibliographie. Pour le sujet qui nous intéresse citons tout particulièrement Gh. Duzinchevici, "Miron Barnovschi Moghilă şi Polonia" (Miron Barnovschi Moghila et la Pologne), *Anuarul Institutului de istorie naţională din Cluj* (Cluj), 8 (1936–38): 166–222.

[7] P. P. Panaitescu, "Influenţa polonă în opera şi personalitatea cronicarilor Grigore Ureche şi Miron Costin" (L'influence polonaise dans l'oeuvre et dans la personnalité des chroniqueurs Grigore Ureche et Miron Costin), *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secţiei istorice* (Bucarest), s. 3, vol. 4 (1925): 149–372; Z. Wdowiszewski, "Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)," *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, 5 (Buenos-Aires et Paris, 1971): 11–78. La partie concernant les pays roumains a été relevée par C. Rezachevici, "Privilegii de indigenat polon acordate locuitorilor din ţările române" (Les privilèges d'indigénat polonais accordés aux habitants des pays roumains), *Revista de istorie* 28 (1975): 1095–98. Précisons que Gheorghe Maurati (Mauroţi) et le hetman (chef de l'armée) moldave Orăş (privilège de 1607) étaient apparentés, tous les deux, aux Movilă.

Les Ottomans, suzerains de la Moldavie, acceptèrent la dépendance envers la Pologne dans la mesure où l'alliance de cette dernière leur était nécessaire pour contrecarrer les Habsbourg. D'autre part, la Moldavie réprésentait un Etat-tampon où les deux Grands pouvaient s'affronter par Tatars et Cosaques interposés sans pour autant violer les traités de paix leur permettant d'avoir les mains libres face, respectivement, à la Moscovie et aux Habsbourg.

La situation changea après la guerre de Xotyn de 1621 et avec le declin de la Pologne en butte aux révoltes des Cosaques, aux incursions des Tatars, à l'hostilité de la Russie des Romanov et aux troubles suscités par sa propre noblesse. A partir de cette date, les Turcs se considèrent les seuls suzerains de la Moldavie, d'où le rôle effacé des derniers princes Movilă et leur retraite définitive en Pologne en 1634.[8]

L'accession des Movilă en 1595 au trône de la Moldavie et l'essai de Ieremia et de Simion de fonder une nouvelle dynastie, n'étaient pas dues uniquement à l'aide des Polonais, mais également aux liens de parenté que les Movileşti avaient noués avec l'ancienne dynastie régnante des Muşatini (ou Bogdan). Ceci nous amène à la généalogie des Movilă qui a bénéficié, depuis le début du siècle, de l'intérêt de spé-

[8] Voir à ce sujet: N. Iorga, l'introduction à E. Hurmuzaki—N. Iorga, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* (Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains), vol. 11 (Bucarest, 1900); idem, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă" (La princesse du voïévode Ieremia), *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secţiei istorice,* s. 2, vol. 32 (1910): 1018–77; I. Corfus, *Mihai Viteazul şi Polonii* (Michel le Brave et les Polonais) (Bucarest, 1938); D. Ciurea, "Despre Ieremia Movilă şi situaţia politică la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea şi începutul secolului al XVII-lea" (A propos de Ieremia Movilă et de la situation politique à la fin du XVI[e] et au début du XVII[e] siècles), *Studii şi cercetări ştiinţifice, Academia R.P.R., Seria istorie* (Iaşi), 8/2 (1957): 323–37; A. Randa, *Pro republica christiana. Die Walachei im "langen" Türkenkrieg der katholischen Universalmächte (1593–1606)* (Munich, 1964; Societas academica dacoromana, Acta historica, 3); Şt. Gorovei, "O lămurire: Domnia ereditară a familiei Movilă" (Une précision: Le règne héréditaire de la famille Movilă), *Revista de istorie* 28 (1975): 1091–94; C. Rotman-Bulgaru, "Relaţiile Moldovei cu Imperiul otoman la începutul secolului al XVII-lea" (Les relations de la Moldavie avec l'Empire ottoman au début du XVII[e] siècle), *Revista de istorie* 29 (1976): 677–96. V. Ciobanu, "Relaţiile politice ale Moldovei cu Polonia în secolele XVI–XVIII, în lumina unor cercetări recente" (Les relations politiques de la Moldavie avec la Pologne aux XVI[e]–XVIII[e] siècles, à la lumière des recherches récentes), *Revista de istorie* 30 (1977): 1103–1119. Ceci ne dispense pas du recours aux grandes synthèses de l'histoire roumaine dues, respectivement, à A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, C. C. Giurescu et à celle de l'Académie de la R.P.R.

cialistes comme Nicolae Iorga,[9] Sever Zotta,[10] Anton Mesrobeanu,[11] Ioan Miclescu-Prăjescu,[12] Nicolae Stoicescu,[13] Ştefan S. Gorovei.[14] Ajoutons aussi les recherches, encore manuscrites, de feu Emmanuel Bogdan[15] et de M. Mihail Dimitri Sturdza (Paris), qui a eu l'amabilité de me les communiquer.[16]

A la fin du XVII^e^ siècle, la tradition attribuait le nom des Movilă à un fait d'armes réel: lors d'une bataille que le prince Etienne le Grand livra aux Turcs en 1485, le cheval du prince fut tué sous son maître.

Et un page (*aprod*) du nom de Purice (en roumain *puce*), lui donna son cheval. Et le prince Etienne ne pouvait pas monter vite, car il était de petite taille. Et Purice le page lui dit: "Monseigneur, je me ferai comme une petite butte (*moviliţă,* diminutif de 'movilă') et viens monter sur moi pour sauter en selle." Et le prince Etienne monta sur son dos et se mit en selle. Et lui dit alors le

[9] *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria Românilor* (Etudes et documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains), 6 (Bucarest, 1904): 638–43; du même, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă."

[10] "Ştiri noui despre Movileşti" (Informations nouvelles sur les Movilă), *Archiva genealogică,* 2 (Iaşi, 1913): 206–245; "Doamna Elisabeta a lui Ieremia Movilă voevod a fost fiica lui Gheorghe pârcălab de Hotin" (La princesse Elisabeta de Ieremia Movilă est la fille de Gheorghe gouverneur de Hotin), ibid.: 178–80; "Un indiciu genealogic privitor la Doamna Marghita (Melania) a lui Simeon Movilă V.V." (Un indice généalogique concernant la princesse Marghita [Melania], femme du prince Simeon Movilă), *Revista Arhivelor* 1 (Bucarest, 1924): 139; "O colecţie veche de spiţe de neam" (Une vieille collection d'arbres généalogiques), *Revista istorică* 13 (Bucarest, 1927): 47–51, 371–76.

[11] 'Rolul politic al Movileştilor până la domnia lui Ieremia vodă" (Le rôle politique des Movilă jusqu'au règne de Ieremia), *Cercetări istorice* (Iaşi), 1 (1925): 177–89.

[12] "New Data Regarding the Installation of the Movila Princes," *Slavonic and East European Review* 49 (1971): 214–34.

[13] *Dicţionar al marilor dregători din Ţara Românească şi Moldova. Secolele XIV–XVII* (Dictionnaire des grands dignitaires de Valachie et de Moldavie, XIV^e^–XVII^e^ siècles).

[14] En dehors des articles cités *supra,* note 8, ajouter deux ouvrages encore inédits: *Movileştii şi înrudirile lor* (Les Movilă et leurs parentés), cf. "O lămurire: Domnia ereditară a familiei Movilă," p. 1091, note 4 et une communication présentée devant la Commission de héraldique, généalogie et sigilographie de Bucarest, le 23 février 1977, au sujet de l'origine de Maria, la mère de Ieremia, Simion et Gheorghe Movilă. Mentionnons enfin un article de vulgarisation, "Movileştii" (Les Movilă), *Magazin istoric* (Bucharest), 7/6 (juin, 1973): 64–72.

[15] Mises à notre disposition par Madame Emmanuel Bogdan (Paris).

[16] Arbres généalogiques extraits d'un ouvrage en manuscrit (*Généalogies des familles nobles de Moldavie.* Rappelons aussi, pour mémoire, l'arbre généalogique des Movilă publié par S. Zotta (cf. note 10 *supra*), qui date de 1842, et les considérations, très vagues, de C. Sion (1795–1862), *Arhondologia Moldovei. Amintiri şi note contemporane* (Les familles nobiliaires de Moldavie. Souvenirs et notes contemporaines) (Iaşi, 1892; nouvelle édition, Bucarest, 1973, soignée par R. Rotaru, Şt. S. Gorovei et M. Anghelescu): 159–62. C. Sion a écrit son livre entre 1840 et 1857.

prince Etienne: "Mon pauvre Purice, si je reste sain et sauf, et toi aussi, alors je changerai ton nom de Purice en Movilă."[16a]

L'historien Ion Neculce (1672–1745) qui enregistra cette tradition, ajoute que les pages (*aprod*) du temps d'Etienne le Grand étaient tous des fils de nobles, portant de beaux-vêtements de fourrure.[17] Dans l'introduction des ses *Annales,* Neculce revint sur la véracité de la légende, en insistant sur le fait qui'il ne s'agissait pas d'un conte ("basnă").[18]

Les historiens roumains plus récents ont vérifié le bien-fondé de la plupart des traditions enregistrées par Ion Neculce.[19] Dans le cas de celle-ci, elle est confirmée, en partie, par le témoignage, contemporain des événements, de la chronique allemande de l'époque d'Etienne le Grand. Selon l'auteur de cette chronique, Etienne tomba du cheval lors de cette bataille, mais resta caché un temps parmi les morts. Un noble moldave ("eyn her") du nom de Purice ("Purytz") sauva le prince et le sortit du champ de bataille, lui permettant de la sorte de rassembler des troupes fraîches et de vaincre les ennemis. On ne nous dit rien sur la transformation du nom de Purice en Movilă, mais un auteur (ou un traducteur) allemand ne pouvait être sensible à cette étymologie.[20]

[16a] I. Neculce, *O samă de cuvinte letopisețul Țării Moldavei,* éd. E. Rusev (Kišinev, 1974), p. 62.

[17] I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopisețul Țării Moldovei și O samă de cuvinte* (Oeuvres. Les Annales de la Moldavie et quelques mots), éd. G. Strempel (Bucarest, 1982), pp. 166–67.

[18] Neculce, *Opere,* p. 158.

[19] C. C. Giurescu, "Valoarea istorică a tradițiilor consemnate de Ion Neculce" (La valeur historique des traditions consignées par Ioan Neculce), *Studii de folclor și literatură* (Etudes de folklore et de littérature) (Bucarest, 1967), pp. 439–95; I. Corfus, "Incă un'cuvânt'al lui Neculce se dovedește a nu fi legendă" (Encore un "mot" de Neculce prouve sa véracité), *Revista de istorie* 17 (1964): 597–98; C. Rezachevici, "Un alt 'cuvânt' al lui Neculce confirmat de documente din veacul al XVII-lea și câteva relatări în legătură cu 'istoriile' sale" (Encore un "mot" de Neculce confirmé par des documents du XVII[e] siècle et quelques relations sur ses "histoires"), *Revista de istorie* 27 (1974): 567–84.

[20] O. Górka, "Cronica epocei lui Ştefan cel Mare, 1457–1499)" (La chronique de l'époque d'Etienne le Grand, 1457–1499), *Revista istorică română* 5–6 (Bucarest, 1935–36): 67. La première édition de ce texte, découvert à Munich en 1911, a été donnée par Górka en polonais: *Kronika czasów Stefana Wielkiego Mołdawskiego* (Cracovie, 1931). Voir aussi les éditions de I. C. Chițimia, *Cronica lui Ştefan cel Mare. Versiunea germană a lui Schedel* (La chronique d'Etienne le Grand. La version allemande de Schedel) (Bucarest, 1942) (Texte de literatură română veche); P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan. Ediție revăzută și completată de . . .* (Les chroniques slavo-roumaines des XV[e]–XVI[e] siècles publiées par Ion Bogdan. Edition revue et complétée par . . .) (Bucarest, 1959), p. 36; F. A. Grekul, *Slavjano-moldavskie letopisi XV–XVI vv.* (Moscou, 1976), p. 45.

Pour notre question il est important de souligner que le personnage Purice exista réellement sous le règne d'Etienne le Grand, car il était *spatar* (porteur de l'épée) en 1491 et gouverneur (*pârcălab*) de Xotyn entre 1493 et 1495. Il appartenait à la famille des *bojare* Tolocico (Toločko) de Dorohoi et était apparenté aux Movilă par les femmes.[21]

En revanche, son contemporain Cozma Movilă, grand échanson (*paharnic, ceaşnic*) de 1490 à 1507, puis membre sans dignité spéciale du conseil princier jusqu'en 1513, est généralement considéré comme l'ancêtre de la famille des Movilă et figure comme tel dans le grand obituaire du monastère de Suceviţa, la fondation de 1583 à 1586 des frères Ieremia et Gheorghe Movilă.[22] Cozma Movilă épousa Marena, la fille d'un grand seigneur du nom de Iaţco (Iachim) Hudici qui apparaît dans les documents en 1453[23] et dans le conseil princier de 1464 à 1492.[24] Ce faisant, il s'apparenta à Purice dont la mère était la propre soeur de Iaţco Hudici et femme de Şandru Tolocico de Dorohoi.[25]

De la sorte, la légende étymologique enregistrée par Ion Neculce est exacte dans la mesure où elle s'applique au cousin par alliance de Cozma Movilă, le *spatar* Purice.

Cozma Movilă et Marena eurent un fils, Dragotă (marié à une certaine Saponia) dont on ignore tout, sauf les noms de leurs descendants:

21 Il apparaît dans un acte du 26 février 1491: *Documenta Romaniae historica, A. Moldova,* vol. 3 (Bucarest, 1980), pp. 182–84. Le frère de Purice s'appelait Ivanco Tolocico (Toločko). Voir aussi Gorovei, "Movileştii," p. 64; M. Cazacu, "A existat aprodul Purice?" (L'aprod Purice a't-il réellement existé?), *Magazin istoric* 4/4 (avril 1970): 69. Pour la fonction de *aprod* (du hongrois *apród*), voir N. Stoicescu, "Unele categorii de slujbaşi ai statelor feudale Ţara Românească şi Moldova" (Sur certaines catégories d'officiers des Etats féodaux de Valachie et de Moldavie), *Studii şi articole de istorie* 12 (Bucarest, 1968): 107–113.

22 Gorovei, "Movileştii," pp. 65–66. Le texte de l'obituaire a été publié par D. Dan, *Mânăstirea Suceviţa* (Le monastère de Suceviţa) (Bucarest, 1923), pp. 188–89, 196; V. Brătulescu, "Pomelnicul cel mare al mânăstirii Suceviţa" (Le grand obituaire du couvent de Suceviţa), *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei* 44 (Iaşi, 1968): 185–204.

23 *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova,* vol. 2 (Bucarest, 1976), pp. 44–47. Il devait être un jeune homme à l'époque, car il ne porte aucun titre.

24 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 275.

25 *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova,* 2: 44–47. Voir aussi un acte du 21 février 1460 qui prouve la parenté entre Iaţco Hudici et Şandru (Şendrica) de Dorohoi, ibid., p. 140, n° 98. Şandru Tolocico (Toločko) apparaît dans les documents entre 1449 et 1467 (*Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova,* 2: 5–6, 217–18).

Ion, Văscan[26] et, vraisemblablement, Gavriil.[27] Les deux derniers nous intéressant moins pour notre propos, nous nous occuperons brièvement de Ion Movilă, le grand-père de P. M. et fils aîné de Dragotă et non pas de Iaţco Hudici comme il a été dit parfois.[28] Sa carrière est connue dans ses grandes lignes: grand trésorier (*vistiernic*) en 1546, puis grand chancelier (*logofăt*) en 1551 et de 1553 à 1563 sous le règne du prince Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, dont il était le beau-frère.[29] Ion Movilă fut marié à deux reprises: avec sa première épouse, Greaca,[30] il eut deux fils—Toader[31] et Iuraşco (Toderaşco)—, et une fille Maria-Greaca, mariée au noble polonais Isaia Herburt.[32] Sa seconde épouse, Maria (surnommée Şcheauca, donc "La Serbe," de "schiavone"), fut la fille du prince Petru Rareş (1527–1538, 1541–1546) et de son épouse Elena-Ecaterina Despotovna, la fille du despote serbe Iovan Branković (1465–1502) et de Elena Jakšić.[33] Maria-Şcheauca lui donna trois fils:

[26] Voir, pour lui, Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 318. *Fl.* entre 1553 et 1570. En 1582, son fils Dumitru était nommé *Moviliţa,* diminutif qui pourrait indiquer une branche cadette. Cf. *Documente privind istoria României* (Documents concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie), *A. Moldova, veac XVI,* vol. 3 (Bucarest, 1951), pp. 181–84, 193.

[27] Mesrobeanu, "Rolul politic al Movileştilor," pp. 181–84; Al. Grigoraş, "Boierii lui Alexandru Vodă Lăpuşneanu" (Les boyars du prince Alexandre Lăpuşneanu), *Cercetări istorice,* 13–16 (1940): 355–58; Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* pp. 317–18. Il apparaît dans les actes entre 1545 et 1552.

[28] Mesrobeanu, "Rolul politic al Movileştilor," pp. 181–84; Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 317.

[29] Mesrobeanu, "Rolul politic al Movileştilor," pp. 181–84; Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 317; Gorovei, "Movileştii," p. 65. Ajoutons qu'en 1547 il était gouverneur (pârcălab) de Xotyn, voir I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea* (Documents concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie recueillis dans les archives polonaises. XVI^e siècle) (Bucarest, 1979), pp. 145, 147.

[30] Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 6:414, n° 1593. Pour la famille de Greaca, descendante de Pavel Scripcă *brănişter* (gardien de la chasse gardée du prince), voir les actes publiés dans *Documente privind istoria României, A. Moldova, veac XVI,* vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1953), pp. 289–91, 318 et 346.

[31] Un acte tardif l'appelle "cârnul" (au nez retroussé, ici: coupé), ce qui signifie qu'il avait eu des prétentions au trône du pays et avait été marqué au nez, selon la coutume, par le prince régnant. Cf. Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 6: 414–15, n° 1598. En 1597 il construisit le monastère de Todireni à Burdujeni, près de Suceava, la capitale du pays. Cf. N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităţilor şi monumentelor medievale din Moldova* (Le répertoire bibliographique des localités et des monuments médiévaux de Moldavie) (Bucarest, 1974), pp. 810–11.

[32] Gorovei, "Movileştii," p. 65; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny,* 21/3 fasc. 90 (Wrocław, Varsovie, Cracovie, Gdańsk, 1976) p. 565.

[33] Miclescu-Prăjescu, "New Data," pp. 223–33; Şt. Gorovei, "Familia lui Petru Rareş" (La famille de Petru Rareş), *Petru Rareş,* éd. par L. Şimanschi et collaborateurs (Bucarest, 1978), p. 268.

Gheorghe, l'aîné, le futur métropolite,[34] Ieremia et Simion, le pére de P. M., et une fille, Ana-Şcheauca qui épousa Melentie Balica, *hetman* de Moldavie de 1583 à 1586.

En 1563, Ion Movilă se fit moine dans des conditions obscures, forcé, semble-t-il, par le prince Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, qui le mit à mort peu de temps après.[35]

Nous arrivons ainsi au père de P. M., à Simion. Celui-ci était le dernier des trois frères qui jouerent un rôle si important dans l'histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. La première mention documentaire le concernant est de 1574, lorsque les cinq (ou six?) frères Movilă[36] et leurs deux soeurs vendent un village.[37] Ieremia et Simion ne portant aucune dignité (Gheorghe est déjà moine), on peut inférer qu'ils étaient encore très jeunes, sûrement moins de vingt ans, âge auquel ils pouvaient postuler des charges de page (*aprod, copil de casă*) à la cour d'un seigneur ou du prince. Comme leur père était mort en 1563–1564, ils avaient plus de dix ans d'âge, étant nés entre 1554 et 1563 (au moins pour Ieremia et Simion). Ce calcul est confirmé lorsqu'on sait que les frères Movilă étaient cousins de l'épouse du prince Ion Vodă cel Cumplit (ou: cel Viteaz, le "terrible" ou le "brave") qui régna de 1572 à 1574: ils avaient, en effet, le même oncle, Toader Bocotco (ou Bucotco), cliucinic (*ključnik*), de la famille des Grincovici (ou Hrincovici).[38] Le frère de Toader Bocotco, Franţian (Frǫcijan) ou Franţiaş

[34] S. Reli, "Doi episcopi ai Rădăuţilor, apoi mitropoliţi ai Moldovei din secolul al XVI-lea, foşti pribegi prin ţări apusene" (Deux évêques de Rădăuţi, devenus par la suite métropolites de la Moldavie au XVI[e] siècle, exilés dans les pays de l'Europe occidentale), *Candela* 40 (Černivci, 1929): 431–43; I. V. Dură, "Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni: mitropolitul Gheorghe Movilă" (Figures ecclésiastiques moldaves: le métropolite Gheorghe Movilă), *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 89 (1971): 187–203; M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe române,* 1: 454–59.

[35] Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* pp. 291–92.

[36] L'acte est déchiré et indique les noms dans l'ordre suivant: Toader et son frère . . . (rupture), Toderaşco échanson, Gheorghe le moine, Eremia et Simion. Nous ignorons l'étendue de la déchirure qui pourrait cacher le nom d'un frère ou d'une soeur. Voir la note suivante.

[37] *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 3: 31.

[38] En 1583, il avait fait don à son neveu Gheorghe, le futur métropolite, de vignes que ce dernier offrait au couvent de Suceviţa (*Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 3: 227). Toader Bucotco avait doné à sa nièce Maria (fille de Lupea Huru) deux villages qu'elle posséda jusqu'à sa mort. Cf. ibid., 3: 167–68. (acte du 30 juillet 1581); *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova,* vol. 21 (*1632–1633*) (Bucarest, 1971), n° 250, 255 et 298. On sait, d'autre part, qu'il avait émigré avant 1565 "in partibus Germanorum," ensuite en Podolie, où il soutenait un prétendant au trône moldave contre le prince alors régnant, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu. Cf. I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României,* p. 265. Sa fuite pourrait être mise en relation avec la persécution de Ion Movilă par le même prince, cf. note 35 *supra.*

Hrincovici, gouverneur de Neamţ, fut enterré en 1543–1544 (7052) dans l'église conventuelle de Probota, la fondation de Petru Rareş, le grand-père paternel des frères Movilă.[39] Nous croyons donc qu'il était apparenté d'une façon ou d'une autre à la famille princière moldave.

Après cette première attestation, nous rencontrons Simion Movilă et ses frères en 1582, lorsqu'ils reçoivent de la part du prince Iancu Sasul (1579–1582) une confirmation générale pour les propriétés (dix villages ou parts de villages) héritées de leur père, Ion Movilă. La date de cette charte, conservée uniquement dans une traduction roumaine du XIX[e] siècle, est le 20 mai 1582.[40] Elle est, toutefois, infirmée par un acte original du 20 janvier de la même année qui constate que Ieremia l'échanson (*paharnic*), son frère Gheorghe, l'ancien métropolite du pays, Teofan, et Balica le hetman (leur beau-frère) avaient déjà quitté le pays pour se réfugier en Pologne.[41] Il faut corriger donc la date de l'acte du 20 mai en 1581.

En septembre 1582, Simion et ses frères reviennent dans le pays avec le prince Petru Şchiopul (le Boiteux, 1582–1591) pour commencer une brillante carrière politique. Au début, Simion est simple *aprod,* tout comme son ancêtre Purice, ce qui nous confirme dans l'hypothèse qu'il était né aux alentours de 1560–1563. Mais, très rapidement, il atteint les sommets de la hiérarchie nobiliaire moldave: gouverneur de Orhei en 1586, grand échanson en 1589, il est *hetman* sous le règne de son frère, Ieremia, avant de devenir lui-même prince de Valachie (1601–1602) et de Moldavie (1606–1607).[42] Simion meurt le 14 septembre 1607, de maladie ou de poison, et fut enterré au couvent de Suceviţa, la fondation de sa famille.[43]

Bien que les sources parlent du lui comme d'un homme âgé,[44] il

[39] N. Iorga, *Inscripţii din bisericile României,* vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1905), p. 59, n° 128.
[40] *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 3: 188–90.
[41] *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 3: 181–84.
[42] Un bref exposé de sa carrière chez Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 319.
[43] L'inscription de sa pierre tombale chez E. Kozak, "Resultate meiner Forschungen im Kloster Sočawicza (in der Bukowina)" (Historische, epigraphische und bibliographische Beiträge, 2), *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 15 (1893): 161–67; idem, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina,* pp. 169–73.
[44] Voir un rapport contemporain qui dit de lui "Simeon Mohila jam aetatis exactae vir," publié par Al. Lăpĕdatu, "O nouă naraţiune a luptelor dintre Movileşti, 1606–1607" (Une nouvelle narration sur les luttes entre les Movila, 1606–1607), *Convorbiri literare* 40 (Bucarest, 1906): 1143–46. De même, le chroniqueur Miron Costin écrit: "Era Simion voda amu mator de dzile, sosit la bătrâneţă" (Simion Movilă etait avancé en âge, arrivé à la vieillesse), cf. *Opere,* p. 57.

laissait des enfants encore très jeunes: l'aîné, Mihail, avait à peine 16 ans, étant né en 1591–1592.[45] On constate que les noms des quatre premiers fils de Simion vont par paires: Mihail et Gavriil, Petru et Pavel, ensuite viennent Moise et Ioan.[46] On est donc en droit de se demander s'il ne s'agissait pas de jumeaux. On connaît, d'autre part, aussi les noms de deux de ses filles: Theodosia, morte le 28 septembre 1596 et enterrée à Sucevița,[47] et Ruxanda, mentionnée dans un acte du 25 avril 1607.[48]

Une question passionnante qui se pose dans ce contexte est celle de l'origine de l'épouse de Simion, Marghita (Margareta)-Melania. Le forme hongroise du nom de Margareta—Marghita—, a induit en erreur les historiens qui cherchaient son origine en Transylvanie (E. Kozak, N. Iorga) ou bien en Pologne (S. Zotta). Ce dernier généalogiste mit, cependant, en circulation, en 1924, un document de 1692 qui donne le nom du père de Marghita: *Gavrilaș logofăt* (chancelier, scribe, secrétaire).[49] Une charte du 19 juillet 1631, connue uniquement par un résumé, est encore plus claire, car elle mentionne également des propriétés de Gavrilaș (ou Gavrilașco), ce qui nous permet de l'identifier sans difficulté parmi les seigneurs moldaves du XVI[e] siècle.[50] Il s'agit de Gavril Hâra (Ch"rovič)[51] qui apparaît dans les actes du temps

[45] Sa pierre tombale précise que lorsqu'il est mort, le 27 janvier 1608, il avait seize ans et demi. Cf. N. Iorga, *Inscripții din bisericile României,* 1: 99–100.

[46] Bien que les commissaires impériaux parlent, le 12 octobre 1604, de sept fils (Cf. E. Hurmuzaki—I. Slavici, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* [Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains], 4 [1600–1649] [Bucarest, 1882], p. 397), Simion Movilă cite dans ses documents uniquement six garçons. Cf. acte du 28 juillet 1606 (*Documente privind istoria României, veac XVII,* 2 *[1606–1610]* [Bucarest, 1953]: 55), du 22 septembre 1606 et du 25 avril 1607 (ibid., pp. 66–67, 100). Pavel est mort le 27 mai 1607 et enterré dans l'église de la bolnița (hôpital) de Dobrovăț. Voir l'inscription chez N. Iorga, *Inscripții din bisericile României,* 2 (Bucarest, 1908), p. 213 (*Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Românilor,* 15).

[47] Kozak, "Resultate meiner Foschungen im Kloster Sočawicza," p. 175; idem, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina,* p. 174.

[48] *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVII,* 2: 100.

[49] Zotta, "Un indiciu genealogic," p. 139.

[50] M. Regleanu, I. Gheorghian, V. Vasilescu et al., *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhiva istorică centrală* (Le Catalogue des documents moldaves de l'Archive historique centrale), vol. 2: *1621–1652* (Bucarest, 1959), n° 682.

[51] Le nom de famille *Hârovici* lui est donné par un seul acte, en date du 4 octobre 1577, publié par L. T. Boga, *Documente basarabene. Hrisoave și cărți domnesti (1507–1594)* (Documents de Bessarabie. Chrysobules et chartes princiers, 1507–1594), 5 (Kišinev, 1929), pp. 33–35; P. G. Dmitriev, D. M. Dragnev, E. M. Russev et al., *Moldavija v èpoxu feodalizma,* 1: *Slavjano-moldavskie gramoty (XV v.-pervaja četvert' XVII v.)* (Kišinev, 1961), pp. 109–110. Précisons que le nom *Hârovici* est écrit avec une encre différente de celle utilisée pour le reste du document.

entre 1541[52] et 1590.[53] En avril 1600 il est indiqué comme décédé.[54]

Son ascendance n'est pas sûre: il pourrait être, en effet, le fils de Nicoară Hâra (*fl.*1538–1544), mort en 1544–1545 (7053) et enterré à Probota, la fondation de Petru Rareş;[55] ou bien, de Ion Hâra (*fl.* 1546–1555).[56] On ne peut pas, par ailleurs, le rattacher aux autres membres connus de cette famille.[57]

Ce qu'on sait de Gavriil logofat c'est qu'il fut un des plus riches seigneurs moldaves de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle: un Gavriil fut grand chancelier du pays de 1565 à 1566, mais fuit le pays à la suite d'un conflit avec le prince Alexandre Lăpuşneanu.[58] Il revint au début de l'année 1568 ou même plus tôt, pour faire partie de la régence qui dirigea le pays au nom du jeune prince Bogdan, le fils de Lăpuşneanu.[59] A partir de 1576 et jusqu'en 1590 on le recontre achetant divers villages et parts de villages qui lui permirent d'arrondir un domaine que l'on

52 En avril 1541, Petru Rareş, le prince de Moldavie, émet un acte permettant à Gavrilaş *logofăt* (secretaire) et à Costin *paharnic* (échanson) de chercher leurs esclaves tsiganes qui s'étaient enfuis. Cf. *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 1: 404, nº 366. Gavrilaş et Costin semblent être frères.

53 Actes du 21 et 23 mai 1590, *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 3: 458–59.

54 *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* vol. 4: *1591–1600* (Bucarest, 1952), p. 289; *Moldavija v èpoxu feodalizma,* pp. 164–65.

55 Un des fidèles serviteurs de Petru Rareş: chambellan (cămăraş) en 1538, gouverneur de Xotyn en mai 1541, il reçoit en don pour ses services deux villages de la part du prince, le 30 avril 1542. Nicoară Hâra fit don de ces villages au couvent de Probota, où il fut enterré, en demandant des prières pour lui et pour ses fils. Voir Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române,* p. 99; N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetăţii Albe* (Etudes historiques sur Kilija et Bilhorod) (Bucarest, 1899): 348; *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 1: 406; ibid., 3: 357–58. L'inscription de sa pierre tombale chez Iorga, *Inscripţii din bisericile României,* 1: 59, nº 129; voir aussi N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria Românilor,* vol. 6 (Bucarest, 1904), p. 649. Le mère de Nicoară Hâra, Marena (Marina) était morte le 8 septembre 1542, lorsque son fils lui mettait une pierre tombale dans l'église de Zahareşti. Cf. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina,* pp. 213–14. Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 310.

56 Pour sa carrière, voir Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* p. 311. En avril 1553 il partait en ambassade en Pologne, cf. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României,* p. 162 sq.

57 Voir Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 7: 208 sq.; *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* vol. 2: *1551–1570* (Bucarest, 1951): 14–20 (Boldur Hârovici), 20–21 (Petre Hârea); 3: 137, 246–47, 417–18.

58 Si c'est à lui que fait allusion une lettre du 9 février [1569] qui parle de Gavrilaş. Voir Tr. Ionescu-Nişcov, "Două acte de cancelarie de la Ştefan Mâzgă" (Deux actes de la chancelerie de Ştefan Mâzgă), *Romanoslavica* 15 (Bucarest, 1967): 247–51.

59 Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române,* pp. 135, 147. (La Chronique d'Azarie): *Gavriil slovopoložnik'.*

soupçonne assez étendu.[60] Le seul problème qui se pose est de savoir si Gavriil *logofăt* de 1541, 1565 à 1568 est la même personne avec Gavrilaş *logofăt* des années 1569, 1576–90, qui est, parfois, indiqué comme deuxième ou troisième secrétaire. Dans l'incapacité de réprondre à cette question—il s'agissait peut-être du père et du fils—, nous continuons avec la présentation des faits indiscutables.

Le nom de son épouse est connu: elle s'appelait Marinca et était la fille du grand trésorier Ion Stroici (mort avant 1587). De la sorte on comprend mieux le rôle important joué par les deux frères de Marinca, Luca et Simion Stroici, du temps de Petru Şchiopul (deuxième règne de 1582 à 1591) et sous les règnes des Movilă (Ieremia, Simion, Mihail et Constantin).[61]

En dehors de Marghita, Gavriil *logofăt* eut encore deux fils: Lazăr *aprod* (sans descendance connue) et Ştefan, grand chancelier du pays entre 1594 et 1595 et en 1600, duquel est issue la famille Ceaurul qui donna à la Moldavie un prince dans la personne de Gheorghe Ştefan (1654–1658).[62] Une fille au nom d'Antimia (la nonne Sinclitichia), épousa le grand vornic Simion Bilăi et laissa sa fortune aux Ceaurul qui héritèrent de la sorte d'une bonne partie des terres de Gavriil logofat.[63] Une autre fille, Tudosia, épousa le hetman Andrei Corcodel (mort vers 1597), un autre grand seigneur partisan de Petru Şchiopul.[64]

[60] *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVI,* 2: 176; 3: 66, 72, 86, 89, 90, 90–91, 236–37, 339–40, 343–44, 346, 361–62, 362–63, 364, 366, 369, 396, 414–15, 458–59; *veac XVI,* 4: 289; *veac XVII,* 3: 34; *Moldavija v èpoxu feodalizma,* pp. 87–88, 99, 100–102, 102–103, 105–106, 106–108, 109–110, 123–25, 128–33, 133–34, 136–37, 138–39, 164–65, 275–76 (certains actes sont publiés dans les deux collections); Al. Băleanu, "Documente şi regeste moldoveneşti" (Documents et régestes moldaves), *Cercetări istorice* 10–12, n° 1 (1934–36): 294.

[61] Cf. Gorovei, "Gavrilaş Hâra logofăt şi Gavrilas Mateiaş logofăt" (Les secrétaires Gavrilaş et Gavrilaş Mateias), *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie "A. D. Xenopol" din Iaşi,* 19 (Iaşi, 1982): 670–72. N. Iorga pensait que après la mort de son mari, Marinca aurait pris le voile et serait morte sous le nom monacal de Protasia. Sa pierre tombale, portant la date 12 septembre 1599, se trouve à l'église conventuelle de Pătrăuţi, où elle a été mise par la *knjagina* Marghita. Cf. Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 6: 615–16; l'inscription de la pierre chez Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina,* p. 60. Si l'identification de N. Iorga est juste, alors la "Gavrilicioaie" (épouse ou fille de Gavriil) de 1611, serait bien une des filles de Gavrilaş logofăt. Voir l'acte dans *Moldavija v èpoxu feodalizma,* pp. 275–76; *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVII,* 3: 34.

[62] Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* pp. 305, 329–330, 448–49.

[63] Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* pp. 305, 293–94.

[64] Voire un acte de [1634–1643], *Documenta Romaniae historica, A. Moldova,* 21: 107–108. Pour le hetman Andrei, voir Stoicescu, *Dicţionar,* pp. 290–291.

Marghita-Melania[65] épousa Simion Movilă au plus tard en 1590, car leur fils aîné, Mihail, naquit en 1591 ou 1592. La naissance de Petru (P. M.) a été précisée par Gh. Enăceanu au 21 décembre 1597. Il est certain que son nom lui vint de son arrière-grand-père, le prince Petru Rareş. Lorsque P. M. avait trois ans, les armées polonaises conduites par Jan Zamoyski installaient Simion Movilă sur le trône de la Valachie voisine réalisant de la sorte le véritable apogée de l'impact polonais sur les pays roumains. Le règne de Simion dura de novembre 1600 à juillet 1601, lorsqu'il fut chassé du trône, puis de nouveau de novembre 1601 à juillet 1602.[66]

Pendant ce temps, Ieremia et Simion, accompagnées de leurs familles, firent un véritable congrès à Kam"janec' Podil's'kyj qui devait avoir pour but l'intégration plus accentuée des pays roumains dans le royaume de Pologne. N. Iorga avait découvert et publié, en 1910, une inscription slavonne dans un Psautier de Putna, qui parlait de la réunion, à Kam"janec', de Ieremia et de Simion avec leurs épouses et tous leurs enfants le 2 août 1600.[67] La date de cette note a été corrigée récemment en 2 avril 1601 (7109), donc en plein règne valaque de Simion.[68] Cette interprétation ne tient toutefois pas compte du fait

[65] Le double nom reste très répandu chez les Roumains, tout comme en Russie et dans les Balkans. On l'explique par la pratique de donner un nom à la naissance et d'en ajouter un second lors du baptême de l'enfant ou après une maladie pour "tromper la mort." Voir P.-H. Stahl, *Sociétés traditionnelles balkaniques. Contributions à l'étude des structurs sociales* (Paris, 1979), pp. 144 sq. (Etudes et documents balkaniques, 1).

[66] Pour ses règnes en Valachie voir: N. C. Bejenaru, "Domnia lui Simion Movilă în Muntenia" (Le règne de Simion Movilă en Valachie), *Revista critică,* 3 (Iaşi, 1929): 173–88; Th. Holban, "Contribuţii la istoria domniei munteneşti a lui Simion Movilă" (Contributions à l'histoire du règne valaque de Simion Movilă), *Revista istorică,* 23 (Bucarest, 1937): 147–54; I. Corfus, "Documente polone privitoare la domnia lui Simion Movilă în Ţara Românească"(Documents polonais concernant le règne de Simion Movilă en Valachie), *Codrul Cosminului* (Cernivci), 10 (1936–1939): 161–216; D. Ciurea, "Domnia munteană a lui Simion Vodă Movilă" (Le règne valaque du prince Simion Movilă), *Cercetări istorice* 13–16 (1940): 113–32; C. Rezachevici, "Poziţia marii boierimii din Ţara Românească faţă de Mihai Viteazul şi Simion Movilă (novembre 1600–august 1601)" (L'attitude de la grande noblesse de Valachie envers de Michel le Brave et de Simion Movilă, novembre 1600–août 1601), *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 26/1 (1973): 49–63.

[67] Iorga, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," p. 1022 et note 5.

[68] N. Gaidagis, "Insemnări privitoare la istoria Românilor pe cărţi vechi" (Notices concernant l'histoire des Roumains recueillies dans des livres anciens), *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie "A. D. Xenopol,"* 11 (Iaşi, 1974): 219–20, 227 n° 28. Voici le texte, corrigé, de la note: "Napisax sie zde na pamęt az arximandrit Veniamin v" gradě Kaměnici, m(ě)s(ę)ca ap(ril) 2, v" lět 7109, egda byxom s" ep(i)s(ko)pom Feodosiem Radovskom, s" g(o)sp(o)d(a)r(em) Io Ieremia voevod i s s(yn)" g(o)sp(o)d(s)tva si, Io Konstantin voevoda, i s" g(o)sp(o)d(stva) Io Simeon voev(o)da i s" s(y)novy v"sěm g(o)sp(od)stva si."

qu'en avril 1601 Simion Movilă régnait en Valachie et émettait des actes à Târgovişte, la capitale, le 29 mars, le 10 avril, le 13, le 20, le 21 et le 30 avril.[69] Il est vrai que, de son côté, son frère Ieremia émet des actes le 24 mars et, ensuite, seulement le 15 avril 1601.[70] Ce qui lui donnerait, à la rigueur, le temps de se rendre à Kam"janec' pour le 2 avril et de retourner chez soi pour le 15 du mois. D'autre part, la chancelerie pouvait fonctionner aussi pendant l'absence du prince, aussi bien en Valachie qu'en Moldavie.

Tout compte fait, la date de la notice peut bien être le 2 avril 1601: en effet, le 23 avril de la même année, le chancelier Dan de Valachie demandait à Jan Zamoyski la permission pour les princesses de Valachie et de Moldavie de quitter Kam"janec'. Elles s'y trouvaient donc encore à cette date et une épidémie de peste avait emporté la soeur de l'épouse de Ieremia, ce qui faisait les autres craindre pour leur propre vie.[71] N. Iorga croyait qu'elles furent relâchées seulement en septembre 1601 lorsque le prince moldave pouvait annoncer la mort du grand ennemi des Movilă et des Polonais, le prince Michel le Brave de Valachie.[72]

Ce ne fut là pourtant pas le début d'une époque de tranquillité pour Simion Movilă et pour sa famille. En novembre 1601 il réussit pourtant à occuper de nouveau le trône valaque, réalisant ainsi le rêve de Jan Zamoyski de contrôler étroitement les pays roumains par l'intermédiaire de ses fidèles serviteurs et alliés du clan des Movilă. Sa femme et ses enfants—dont Petru, âgé maintenant de 4 ans—ont dû revenir à Târgovişte, la capitale du pays, mais pas pour longtemps: à la fin du mois de juillet 1602, Simion fut chassé du pays par un nouveau prétendant au trône, le prince Radu Şerban soutenu par l'empereur Rodolphe II de Habsbourg et par les nobles valaques hostiles à "l'étranger moldave." Simion dut se retirer avec sa famille en Moldavie, d'où il essaya sa chance en septembre 1602 avec l'aide des Tatars et des mercenaires polonais. Vaincus par deux fois, les 4000 Tatars durent battre en retraite. Leur khan, furieux de la mort de son beau-frère sur le champ de bataille, ordonna qu'on punît Simion qui fut

[69] *Documente privind istoria României, B. Ţara Românească, veac XVII,* vol. 1: *1601–1610* (Bucarest, 1951): 4–12.
[70] Idem, *A Moldova, veac XVII,* 1: 6–7.
[71] E. Hurmuzaki—I. Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, Supliment II,* vol. 2: *1601–1643* (Bucarest, 1895), pp. 30–31; Iorga, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," p. 1026.
[72] Hurmuzaki—Bogdan, *Documente . . . , Supliment II,* 2: 61–62.

attaché avec des chaînes sous le ventre du cheval. Cette mésaventure ne découragea pourtant pas l'ambitieux Simion qui s'employa, jusqu'à la mort de son frère, à récupérer la trône valaque, demandant tour à tour l'aide des Polonais, des Turcs et des Transylvains.[73]

On peut imaginer que, dans ces conditions, les dix premières années de la vie de P. M. aient été agitées et que l'affection et la présence de son père lui aient fait défaut. Il a dû être élevé surtout par les femmes avec, à leurs côtés, sa mère Marghita, matrone autoritaire et ambitieuse. La petite cour de nobles valaques qui avaient accompagnés son père en exil en 1602 a été un autre milieu où P. M. a acquis ses premières connaissances. En 1627 il se souvenait encore du récit de la bénédiction de l'eau par les catholiques et les orthodoxes dans la cathédrale d'Alba Iulia (1596), récit qui lui avait été fait par deux seigneurs valaques, le trésorier Dan Danilovici, déjà cité, et le grand *pitar* (pannetier) Dragomir.[74]

D'autre part, les relations entre Simion et Ieremia (et aussi entre leurs épouses respectives) commencèrent à se dégrader de plus en plus entre 1602 et 1606. Les mercenaires polonais engagés par Simion pillaient la Moldavie et réclamaient leurs soldes directement à Ieremia, n'hésitant pas à occuper et à piller la propriété de Ustie, en Pologne, que le prince moldave avait acquise en 1598. Simion s'étant adressé directement aux Turcs, ces derniers ordonnèrent, en 1605, à Ieremia de tout faire pour installer son frère en Valachie. Peine perdue, car Ieremia sut se défiler et envoya Simion en Transylvanie guerroyer aux côtés des Turcs.

Sur ces entrefaites survint la mort subite de Ieremia—Iorga pensait à une attaque d'apoplexie survenue par une chaude journée d'été—, le 30 juin 1606.[75] On connaît, aujourd'hui, mieux le déroulement des événements ultérieurs: en vertu du traité turco-polonais de 1598, le sultan envoya les insignes princiers à Constantin, le fils aîné et qui

[73] Iorga, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," pp. 1027–29.

[74] Gh. Enăceanu, "Din istoria bisericească a Românilor. Petru Movilă" (Extraits de l'histoire ecclésiastique des Roumains. Petru Movilă), *Biserica ortodoxă română*, 7 (Bucarest, 1883): 666–76; S. Golubev, "Sobstvennoručnyja zapiski Petra Mogily. 1) Skazanija Petra Mogily o čudesnyx i zaměčatel'nyx javlenijax v cerkvi pravoslavnoj (južno-russkoj, moldo-vlaxijskoj i grečeskoj)," *Arxiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, s. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887): 81–84.

[75] Iorga, "Doamna lui IeremiaVodă," p. 1030. La discussion de la date chez I. Minea, "Când a murit Ieremia Vodă Movilă?" (Quand est mort le prince Ieremia Movilă?), *Cercetări istorice* 13–16 (1940): 694.

n'avait que 12 ans, du défunt Ieremia. Constantin régna environ dix jours, après quoi il fut écarté par les grands seigneurs du pays qui lui préférèrent Simion, son oncle.[76] Ce dernier prit le pouvoir vers le 10 juillet, en écartant Constantin et en blessant de façon irréversible l'orgueil d'Ecaterina, l'ambitieuse veuve de Ieremia, qui voyait lui échapper la perspective d'une regénce, et créait, en même temps, les prémises du conflit ultérieur entre les deux branches de la famille des Movilă.[77]

Le règne de Simion, rapidement reconnu par les Turcs, dura jusqu'en septembre 1607. Ce furent là, à n'en pas douter, les plus belles années de la jeunesse de Petru qui avait l'âge de 10 ans. L'existence de deux frères aînés—Mihail et Gavriil—a, peut-être, poussé ses parents, dès cet âge, à donner à P. M. une éducation destinée à lui ouvrir une carrière ecclésiastique plutôt que politique. En effet, les fils de prince ne pouvaient, dans les pays roumains, aspirer à une vie autre que celle du trône ou bien du couvent. L'alternative était l'exil (en Pologne, en Transylvanie ou dans l'Empire ottoman), où l'on intriguait et guettait une occasion favorable pour s'emparer du pouvoir suprême par l'argent ou par la force des armes.

Ce bonheur fut, malheureusement, de courte durée: Simion Movilă mourut le 14 septembre 1607, empoisonné, semble-t-il, par sa belle-soeur Elisabeta, la veuve de Ieremia.[78] A sa place, les grands seigneurs moldaves élirent prince son fils aîné, Mihail, qui ne put, toutefois, se maintenir sur le trône convoité également par Elisabeta pour son fils Constantin. Ce dernier bénéficia de l'aide de ses beaux-frères polonais: Stefan Potocki, le voïévode de Braclav (qui avait épousé sa soeur Maria), Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj (mari de Regina) et Samujil Korec'kyj (époux de Ecaterina) lesquels, venus avec des troupes de Cosaques,

[76] Şt. Gorovei, "O lămurire: domnia ereditară a familiei Movilă," *Revista de istorie* 28 (1975): 1093–94. Le traité (*ahidname*) turco-polonais a été publié par C. Orhonlu, *Telhisler (1597–1606)* (Istanbul, 1970), p. 118; une traduction roumaine chez M. Mehmed, *Documente turceşti privind istoria României* (Documents turcs concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie), vol. 1: *1455–1774* (Bucarest, 1976), pp. 142–43.

[77] Iorga, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," p. 1033.

[78] M. Costin, *Opere*, p. 57; voir aussi le rapport de l'ambassadeur de Venise à la Porte, Hurmuzaki—I. Slavici, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, vol. 4/2: *1600–1650* (Bucarest, 1884), pp. 291. Sa pierre tombale fut mise seulement en mars 1620, par sa veuve et par son fils Gavriil. Cf. note 43 *supra*.

chassèrent le jeune prince et toute sa famille dans le Bugeac, d'abord[79] et ensuite en Valachie. Ici, Mihail épousa la fille du prince Radu Şerban (1602–1610, 1611) événement qui célébrait, sans aucun doute, une alliance politique destinée à lui fournir de l'aide pour reconquérir le trône de la Moldavie. Cette alliance tourna court avec la mort, le 27 javier 1608, du jeune prince, qui fut enterré dans la nécropole princière de Dealu, près de Târgovişte.[80]

La princesse Marghita perdit vite tout espoir d'installer son second fils, Gavriil (ou Gavrilaş, comme son grand-père maternel), sur le trône moldave. On pense, généralement, qu'elle se rendit en Pologne après 1608, en passant par la Transylvanie.[81] La veuve de Simion Movilă et ses fils—Gavriil, Petru (P. M.), Ion et Moise—s'installèrent à Didyliv (Dziedziłów), une des terres du hetman Stanisław Żołkiewski, voïévode de Kiev et starosta de Bar et de Kam"janec'. Il semble qu'un lien de parenté unissait Żółkiewski à la princesse Marghita, car l'ambassadeur français à Constantinople le considérait comme l'oncle de Gavriil, donc aussi de P. M.[82] Ce lien de parenté n'a pu être élucidé jusqu'à ce jour.

De Didyliv, où elle veillait à l'éducation de ses enfants,[83] Marghita assista à la chute de la branche de Ieremia en Moldavie et aux guerres

[79] N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* vol. 4 (Bucarest, 1902), p. lxvii; E. Hurmuzaki—A. Tocilescu—A. Odobescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, Supliment I,* vol. 1: *1518–1780* (Bucarest, 1886), pp. 129–30; Al. Lăpădatu, "O nouă naraţiune a luptelor dintre Movileşti, 1606–1607," pp. 1143–46; Iorga, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," pp. 1034–35; V. Lungu, "Mihăilaş Vodă Movilă şi Moldova în anul 1607" (Mihăilaş Movilă et la Moldavie en 1607), *Cercetări istorice,* 8–9 (1932–33): 89–103; compte rendu critique par C. A. Stoide, *Revista critică* 9/1 (1935): 59–64; réponse de V. Lungu, *Cercetări istorice* 10–12 (1934–36): 371–88; V. Vasiliu, "Il principato moldavo e la curia papale fra il 1606–1620," *Diplomatarium italicum,* 2 (Rome, 1930): 1–71.

[80] Cf. note 45 *supra.*

[81] Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 4: lxxi–lxxii; Gh. Enăceanu pensait qu'elle se rendit en Pologne seulement en 1612 ("Din istoria bisericească a Românilor. Petru Movilă," p. 678 sq.).

[82] "Gabriel filz de Simeon nepveu de Zolquievsqui" nous dit un rapport français de Péra, publié par Hurmuzaki—Tocilescu—Odobescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, Supliment I,* 1: 179–80. L'hypothèse de cette parenté a été acceptée par Gorovei, "Gavrilaş Hâra logofăt şi Gavrilaş Mateiaş logofăt," p. 671 et note 127, qui cite également la chronique des Arméniens de Kam"janec'.

[83] Cf. une lettre du 7 août 1614 par laquelle "Margareta Mohilina, woiewodzina wołoska" envoyait à Lviv "les prêtres et le professeur de nos fils," accusés peut-être d'hérésie ("pour que la vérité et le mensonge soient démontrés"), publié par Hurmuzaki—Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, Supliment II,* 2: 387–88.

turco-polonaises qui leur succédèrent. Son fils, P. M., n'allait plus voir la Moldavie avant 1621, après un séjour en 1610 dont il fait mention lui-même plus tard, vers 1627.[84] En revanche, son frère aîné, Gavriil, réussit, en juin 1618 (après un essai infructueux en 1616), à obtenir le trône de la Valachie grâce à la bienveillance du sultan.[85]

Les Turcs avaient demandé à Gavriil de faire venir de Pologne sa mère et ses frères, ce qui'il fit assez vite pour Ioan et Moise. Toutefois, les Polonais ne voulaient pas permettre à Petru de quitter le pays. Le 23 janvier 1620, quelques mois avant sa déposition, Gavriil écrivait au comte transylvain Boldizsár Kemény, le priant d'intervenir dans cette affaire et de permettre à un messager de se rendre auprès de son frère. En effet, les préparatifs des Turcs en vue d'une guerre contre la Pologne lui faisaient craindre pour son jeune frère retenu comme otage, peut-être par ce même Żółkiewski dont il a été déjà question.[86]

Il est possible, mais les preuves nous manquent, que Petru Movilă ait pris part à la désastrueuse campagne de Cecora (septembre-octobre 1620) où le hetman Żółkiewski trouva la mort. En échange, l'année suivante, lors de la guerre de Xotyn, on rencontre P. M. dans la suite du nouveau hetman, Karol Chodkiewicz, comme prétendant officiel au

[84] Gh. Enăceanu a publié le récit que Petru Movilă fit de l'entrée en monachisme, à Sucevița, de Ștefan (devenu le moine Atanasie), un ancien serviteur de son père. Petru Movilă écrit qu'il nota ce récit le 25 septembre 1610 à Sucevița, ce qui signifie qu'il avait pu se rendre en Moldavie même sous le règne de son cousin ennemi Constantin. Cf. Enăceanu, "Din istoria bisericească a Românilor. Petru Movilă," pp. 659–61; Golubev, "Sobstvennoručnye zapiski Petra Mogily," pp. 84–85.

[85] Pour ses tentatives depuis 1608, voir Hurmuzaki—Slavici, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor,* 4/2: 294–96, 366 sq.

[86] Hurmuzaki—Slavici, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor,* 4/2: 373; voir aussi la lettre du 23 janvier 1620 découverte et publiée par A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Româneşti, Acte și scrisori (1614–1636)* (Documents concernant l'histoire de la Transylvanie, de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, Actes et lettres, 1614–1636), vol. 9 (Bucarest, 1937), pp. 210–12. Cette lettre infirme l'opinion de N. Iorga qui croyait que Petru Movilă avait accompagné son frère en Valachie de 1618 à 1620. Cf. *Istoria literaturii religioase a Românilor până la 1688* (Histoire de la littérature religieuse des Roumains jusqu'en 1688) (Bucarest, 1904), p. cxxxiii. Iorga citait à ce propos un acte du 12 février 1618 (en fait 1619) émis par Gavriil ensemble avec ses frères Petru, Ioan et Moise, en faveur du monastère Balica, de Iași. Publié par B. P. Hașdeu, *Archiva istorică a României* (L'Archive historique de la Roumanie), vol. 1/2 (Bucarest, 1865), p. 190. Réédition dans *Documente privind istoria României, veac XVII,* 4: *1616–1620* (Bucarest, 1956), pp. 229–30, avec la date erronnée 1618. Toutefois, bien qu'émis au nom des quatre frères, l'acte ne contient que les signatures de Gavriil et de Ion Movilă. L'absence de la signature de Petru ne peut s'expliquer que par le fait qu'il était toujours en Pologne, ce qui ressort, par ailleurs, de la lettre citée plus haut.

trône moldave.[87] C'est le poème *Wojna Chocimska* de Wacław Potocki (1621–1696) qui, bien que plus tardif, nous donne des détails sur Petru Movilă et sa participation à cette guerre malheureuse pour les Polonais:[88]

Piotr Mohila wołoski to był wojewodzic,
Syn Symona Mohily, że tuteczny rodzic,
Skoro zginął Żółkiewski, jego wierny patron.
Przylgnął do Chodkiewicza: bowiem zmierzał na tron
Dziedziczny kiedykolwiek, który nań i człeczem
I bożem spadał prawem (lecz kędy za mieczem
Idą rzeczy, tam święta sprawiedliwość wzdycha,
Tam wszelka sukcesya bliskiej krwie ucicha,
Milczy prawo na wojnie), o któreśmy spadki
Oplakanych *Mohiłów* i dziś wpadli w siatki.
W te Korecki z Potockim i Piasecki trzeci,
W te *mogiły* Żółkiewski pod Cecorą leci.
Tamci przy Aleksandrze, Konstantym, Bohdanie
Mohilach, a Żółkiewski już przy Gracyanie. . . .
Trwała jeszcze nadzieja, choć jako na wietrze,
Że ich dom w tym ostatnim miał się dźwignąć Pietrze.
Ten się jeszcze chudzina trzyma swego sznura,
I choć go dzisia wiechciem fortuna potura,
W Bogu i w szabli polskiej ufa, że się dopnie,
Skąd wypadł, i dziadowskie odziedziczy stopnie.

/C'était P. M. descendent des voïvodes valaques,
Fils de Simion Movilă, d'origine de ce pays.
Quand Żółkiewski, son protecteur fidèle, périt,
Il s'attacha à Chodkiewicz, car il visait le trône
De ses ancêtres qui lui revenait par le droit humain
Et divin. (Mais là où les choses sont reglés
par le glaive

[87] Voir la relation anonyme polonaise sur la guerre de Xotyn, publiée par Hurmuzaki—Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, Supliment II,* 2:467, 469, d'après le ms. 616 de la Bibliothèque Czartoryski; nouvelle traduction roumaine avec notes et commentaires chez M. Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru et P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători străini despre ţările române* (Voyageurs étrangers au sujet des pays roumains), vol. 4 (Bucarest, 1972), p. 493.

[88] Wacław Potocki, *Wojna chocimska,* Z autografu wydał i opracował Aleksander Brückner (Cracow, 1924), pp. 74–75 (ll. III, 481–94, 499–504), p. 76 (ll. III, 541–52). M. Kasterska-Sergescu, "Les Roumains dans une épopée polonaise du XVII^e siècle (*La Guerre de Chocim/Wojna Chocimska* par Vaclav Potocki)," *Inchinare lui Nicolae Iorga cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 60 de ani* (Mélanges dédiés a Nicolae Iorga à l'occasion de ses 60 ans) (Cluj, 1931), pp. 207–222.

La Sainte Justice soupire,
Et tout héritage dû au sang s'éteint.
La loi se tait pendant la guerre). C'est pour les héritages
De ces Movilă malheureux que nous sommes tombés dans les pièges
Où périrent Korec'kyj et Potocki et Piasecki, le troisième.
C'est ainsi que Żółkiewski trouva sa tombe à Cecora,
Les uns avec Alexandre, Constantin et Bogdan,
Les Movilă, et Żółkiewski déjà avec Graziani. . . .
Il y avait encore un pauvre espoir qui tremblait comme au grand vent
Que la maison des Movilă se releverait dans leur dernier descendant, Pierre [P. M.]
Ce pauvret tenait encore à sa corde,
Et quoique la Fortune lui était bien dure
Il espérait en Dieu et dans le sabre polonais de revenir
Là d'où il descendait et de reprendre le rang de ses ancêtres./

Voyant chaque jour le soleil ressusciter, Petru pouvait espérer qu'il en serait de même pour lui:

I Mohiła, chociaż go zła fortuna topi,
Wżdy nie zaraz rozpacza nie zaraz się stropi;
Opiera się, nie da się zbijać z jednochodzej,
Bo im co cięźej cierpim, tym wspominać słodzéj;
Chwyta się i słabego, jako mówią, wiszu,
Tuszy, że z tak podłego niedługo kociszu,
Na którym się dziś chudak włóczy przy obozie,
Sięd̨zie na tryumfalnym przodków swoich wozie.
Ten prośbą u hetmana pokorną zabieży,
Że wszelakiej w Wołoszech zakaże rabieży.
Przysięże za swój naród, jako do Korony
Przychylny; niech go miasto nie niszczą obrony.

/Et Movilă quoique la fortune s'acharne contre lui
Ne désespère point, ne perd pas le courage
Il résiste et ne se laisse pas détourner de son chemin
Car plus on souffre, plus il fait bon de s'en souvenir plus tard.
Donc il s'accroche même aux faibles roseaux d'espoir,
Et croit que sortant bientôt de son pauvre chariot,
Il va monter sur le char triomphal de ses ancêtres.
Aussi adresse-t-il humblement ses prières au hetman
De défendre tout pillage en Moldavie.

Il jure pour son peuple que celui-ci est bien disposé pour
la Pologne,
Alors qu'on ne pille pas au lieu de le défendre./

Quelques mois après l'échec de Xotyn, P. M. perdait sa mère, la princesse Marghita. Celle-ci s'était réfugiée, en 1620, ensemble avec ses fils Gavriil, Ioan et Moise, en Transylvanie.[89] Ici, Gavriil épousa, deux ans plus tard, Erzsébet Zólyomi qui lui apportait en dot le domaine de Şoimeni (Sólyomkő), près de Oradea (Nagyvárad).[90] A une date indéterminée en 1622, Marghita mourait et exprimait par testament son désir d'être enterrée à Suceviţa, la fondation de la famille, à côté son mari. Son fils Ioan suivit le cercueil en Moldavie.[91]

Treize ans plus tard, en 1635, le même Ioan eut à accompagner la dépouille mortelle de Gavriil qui avait fait son testament le 19 décembre de la même année. Dans une lettre qu'il adressait à cette époque à un sénateur transylvain, Ioan Movilă précisait que son frère, l'archimandrite,—donc P. M. avait envoyé à Cluj des moines et des serviteurs pour s'occuper de ce transport funèbre.[92]

Entre ces deux dates, les derniers Movilă avaient occupé le trône de la Moldavie: Miron Barnovski Movilă, un cousin de P. M., régna de 1626 à 1629 et quelques mois en 1633.[93] Enfin, Moise, le frère cadet de P. M. se maintint sur le trône de 1630 à 1631 et de 1633 à 1634. En avril 1634, le dernier Prince Movilă à avoir régné en Moldavie—Moise Movilă—se réfugiait en Pologne avec toute sa fortune qui était considérable.[94] Les efforts de Ioan pour obtenir l'aide des Transylvains en

[89] C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut interpréter les dires de la chronique des Arméniens de Kam"janec' qui précise que Gavriil Movilă s'enfuit en Transylvanie ensemble avec sa mère et ses deux frères. Cf. E. Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621* (Budapest, 1968), sous l'année 1620, le mois de mai. Nous avons utilisé la traduction et les commentaires de A. Pippidi, "Cronica Armenilor din Cameniţa—Noi spicuiri privitoare la istoria Românilor" (La Chronique des Arméniens de Kam"janec' [Cameniţa]—nouvelles informations glanées concernant l'histoire des Roumains), *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 24/1 (1973): 148 et note 2. A. Pippidi croit que les enfants étaient Petru et Ioan. Nous n'avons pas pu consulter l'ouvrage de Şt. Meteş, *Domni şi boieri din ţările române în oraşul Cluj şi Românii din Cluj* (Princes et nobles roumains dans la ville de Cluj et les Roumains de Cluj), (Cluj, 1935), pp. 56–59.

[90] Veress, *Documente,* 9: 248–51.

[91] Veress, *Documente,* 9: 354–55.

[92] Veress, *Documente,* 9: 355–58.

[93] Pour ses relations avec la Pologne, voir Duzinchevici, "Miron Barnovschi Moghilă şi Polonia."

[94] M. Kasterska, "Les trésors des Movilă en Pologne," *Revue historique du sud-est européen,* 13 (Bucarest, 1936): 69–77; I. Corfus, "Odoarele Movileştilor rămase în Polonia" (Les joyaux des Movilă restés en Pologne), *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 25 (1972): 29–59; idem, "Pe urmele lui Moise Movilă şi ale lui Gheorghe Ştefan" (Sur les traces de Moise Movilă et de Gheorghe Ştefan), *Anuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie "A. D. Xenopol" din Iaşi* 15 (1978): 297–305.

vue de récupérer l'héritage paternel, et qui ressortent de la lettre citée plus haut, restèrent sans succès: Vasile Lupu, le nouveau prince de Moldavie nommé par les Turcs en 1634 allait se maintenir sur le trône pendant vingt ans, jusqu'en 1653.

Pierre Mohyla/Petru Movilă devint moine en 1627 alors que régnait en Moldavie son cousin, Miron Barnovski. A partir de cette date on considère que P. M., ayant abandonné tout espoir de devenir prince moldave, entendit consacrer sa vie à Dieu. Les relations qu'il entretint à partir de cette date avec les deux pays roumains—la Moldavie et la Valachie—sont de nature culturelle et religieuse: aide à la création d'imprimeries et d'écoles, combat commun pour la défense de l'Orthodoxie qui se matéralisa par l'impression de la *Confession orthodoxe* et la tenue, à Iaşi, d'un synode en 1642.

Comme tel, il figure dans toutes les synthèses d'histoire de la littérature roumaine,[95] de l'Eglise roumaine[96] et de l'enseignement.[97] C'est,

[95] V. A. Urechia, *Schiţe de istoria literaturii române* (Esquisse de l'histoire de la littérature roumaine) (Bucarest, 1885), pp. 177–80; Al. I. Philippide, *Introducere în istoria limbei şi literaturii române* (Introduction à l'histoire de la langue et de la littérature roumaines) (Iaşi, 1888), pp. 138–42; N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase a Românilor până la 1688* (Histoire de la littérature religieuse des Roumains jusqu'en 1688) (Bucarest, 1904), pp. cxxx–clxiv (Studii şi documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, vol. 7: Introducere); Idem, *Istoria literaturii româneşti* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine), vol. 1, 2e édition (Bucarest, 1925), pp. 237–48; G. Pascu, *Istoria literaturii române din secolul al XVII-lea* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine du XVIIe siècle) (Iaşi, 1922), pp. 59–62; N. Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii române. Epoca veche* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine. La période ancienne), vol. 2 (Bucarest, 1942), pp. 93–96; 2e édition en un volume (Bucarest, 1980), pp. 163–67; Şt. Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine ancienne) (Bucarest, 1947), pp. 253–59; I. D. Lăudat, *Istoria literaturii române vechi* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine ancienne), vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1962), pp. 118–25; G. Ivaşcu, *Istoria literaturii române* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine), vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1969), pp. 129–32, 142–43; Al. Piru, *Istoria literaturii române. Perioada veche* (Histoire de la littérature roumaine. La période ancienne), vol. 1, 3e édition (Bucarest, 1970), pp. 87–89; *Dicţionarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900* (Dictionnaire de la littérature roumaine depuis les origines jusqu'en 1900) (Bucarest, 1979), pp. 590–92 (texte de A. Simota).

[96] N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii româneşti şi a vieţii religioase a Românilor* (Histoire de l'Eglise roumaine et de la vie religieuse des Roumains), vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1909), pp. 290 sq; Gh. Moisescu, Şt. Lupşa et Al. Filipaşcu, *Istoria Bisericii române. Manual pentru Institutele teologice* (Histoire de l'Eglise roumaine. Manuel pour les Instituts de théologie), vol. 2: *1632–1949* (Bucarest, 1957), pp. 5–11; M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe române* (Histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe roumaine), vol. 2 (Bucarest, 1981), pp. 31–45.

[97] N. Iorga, *Istoria învăţământului românesc* (Histoire de l'enseignement roumain) (Bucarest, 1928; réédition 1971); C. C. Giurescu, I. Ivanov, N. Mihăileanu, et al., *Istoria învăţământului din România. Compendiu* (Histoire de la l'enseignement en Roumanie. Compendium) (Bucarest, 1971).

également, la période la mieux connue de sa vie, la période où P. M. appartient à l'Eglise et à la culture ukrainiennes, mais aussi à l'Orthodoxie tout entière.[98]

Lors de sa dernière visite au pays natal au début de l'année 1645 à l'occasion du mariage de la fille du prince Vasile Lupu avec le noble lituanien Janusz Radziwiłł, P. M. fit un sermon partie en polonais et partie en roumain.[99] En même temps, il liquidait ses affaires en Moldavie comme il résulte d'un document du 6 février 1645.[100] Un pèlerinage aux tombes de ses parents et de ses frères et soeurs, à Sucevița, a dû clore le voyage au pays natal, et qui fut aussi le dernier avant sa mort, du grand métropolite de Kiev.

II. Bibliographie raisonée (1830–1981)*

1. Arbore, Zamfir. "Petru Movilă, Mitropolitul Kievului" (P. M., métropolite de Kiev). *Tinerimea română,* 16 (Bucarest, 1898): 94 sq.

2. Asaki, Gheorghe. "Despre literatura românească" (A propos de la littérature roumaine). *Albina românească,* 2 (Iaşi, 1830): 51–52; *Curierul românesc,* 1 (Bucarest, 1829–30): 433–34.

   Considère que P. M. (qu'il confond avec son oncle Ieremia) s'est formé aux écoles de Cotnari et de Trei Ierarhi (Iaşi). Enumération de quelques oeuvres.

3. Avădănii, Mihail I. "Aşezământul şcolar de la Trei Ierarhi din Iaşi—

[98] Cf. Panaitescu, "L'Influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila dans les Principautés roumaines," p. 9.

[99] Voir les travaux de P. P. Panaitescu (1942) et de G. Mihăilă (1972) dans la Bibliographie, *infra.* Pour le mariage, cf. N. C. Bejenaru, "Misiunea lui Leontin Zaleski şi căsătoria fiicei lui Vasile Lupu cu Janusz Radziwił" (La mission de Leontin Zaleski et le mariage de la fille de Vasile Lupu avec Janusz Radziwiłł), *Revista critică* 1 (1927): 222–25. La description du mariage a été faite par Miron Costin, *Opere,* pp. 120–21; une description due à un témoin oculaire—le général transylvain János Kemény—parle avec admiration de Petru Movilă et de sa suite de moines et de prêtres. Traduction roumaine par M. Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru et P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători străini despre țările române,* vol. 5 (Bucarest, 1973), pp. 135–38.

[100] Conservé uniquement en résumé. Petru Movilă donne le village Oşehlibul à Pătraşco Ciogolea. Publié par Iorga, *Studii şi documente,* 7: 211, nº 14.

* La présente bibliographie n'a pas la prétention d'être exhaustive. Nous avons essayé de donner les indications bibliographiques le plus complétement possible. Pour les revues mentionnées pour la première fois, nous avons indiqué, presque toujours, le lieu de parution. M. Emil Turdeanu, maître de recherche honoraire au C.N.R.S., Paris, a eu l'amabilité de nous fournir plusieurs titres qui nous avaient échappés.

prima instituţie cu elemente de învăţământ superior din Moldova" (L'Etablissement scolaire de Trois Hiérarques de Iaşi—la première institution présentant des éléments d'enseignement supérieur de Moldavie). *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei* 47 (1971): 361–74; 48 (1972): 775–88.

4. BÂRLEA, Octavian. *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae.* Frankfurt am Main, 1948. xiv, 225 pp.

5. BEZVICONI, George. *Contribuţii la istoria relaţiilor româno-ruse (din cele mai vechi timpuri până la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea)* (Contributions à l'histoire des relations roumano-russes [depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle]). Bucarest, 1962. 347 pp.

6. BOGDAN, Damian P. "Les Enseignements de Pierre Movila adressés à son frère Moïse Movila." *Cyrillomethodianum,* 1 (Thessalonique, 1971): 1–25.

7. BOGDAN, Nicolae A. "Herbul mitropolitului Petru Movilă" (Les armoiries du métropolite P. M.). *Arhiva. Organul Societăţii istorico-filologice din Iaşi,* 29/1 (Iaşi, 1922): 120–21. Reproduction d'après P. N. Polevoj, *Istorija russkoj slovesnosti,* vol. 1 (St.-Pétersbourg, 1903).

8. BODOGAE, Teodor. *Din istoria Bisericii ortodoxe de acum 300 de ani. Consideraţii istorice în legătură cu sinodul dela Iaşi* (Extraits de l'histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe d'il y a 300 ans. Considérations historique relatives au synode de Iaşi). Sibiu, 1943. iv, 153 pp.

9. BODOGAE, Teodor. "Un capitol din relaţiile româno-ruse: mitropolitul Petru Movilă" (Un chapitre des relations roumano-russes: le métropolite P. M.). *Revista teologică,* 36 (Sibiu, 1946): 403–419.

10. BULAT, Toma. "Petru Movilă prinţ de Moldova, apărător al ortodoxismului (cu prilejul împlinirii a 300 de ani dela sinodul din Iaşi, 1641–1941)" (P. M., prince de Moldavie, défenseur de l'Orthodoxie [à l'occasion de 300 ans depuis le synode de Iaşi, 1641–1941]). *Buletinul Institutului de istoria Românilor "A. D. Xenopol"* (Iaşi, 1941), pp. 9–14.

11. CIOBANU, Ştefan. "Din legăturile culturale moldo-ucrainiene" (Sur les relations culturelles moldavo-ukrainiennes). *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secţiei literare,* s. 3, vol. 8 (1938): 15–18.

12. CIOBANU, Valeriu. "Relaţii literare româno-ruse în epoca feudală" (Relations littéraires roumano-russes à l'époque féodale). *Revista de istorie şi teorie literară,* 9/2 (Bucarest, 1960).

13. CONSTANTINESCU, Barbu. "Românul Petru Movilă ca reprezentant al Bisericii ortodoxe" (Le Roumain P. M. comme représentant de l'Eglise orthodoxe). *Columna lui Traian,* 4 (Bucarest, 1873): 38–39.

14. ELIAN, Alexandru. "Contribuţia grecească la 'Mărturisirea ortodoxă'" (La contribution grecque à la "Confession orthodoxe"). *Balcania,* 5/1, (Bucarest, 1942): 79–135.

15. ELIAN, Alexandru. *Mărturisirea de credinţă a Bisericii ortodoxe. Traducere de . . .* (La Confession de la foi de l'Eglise orthodoxe. Traduction de . . .) Bucarest, 1981. Introduction, pp. 5–22. Traduction roumaine de la *Confession orthodoxe* de P. M., pp. 23–182.

16. ENACEANU, Ghenadie, "Din istoria bisericească a Românilor. Petru Movilă" (Extraits de l'histoire ecclésiastique des Roumains. P. M.). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 7 (1883): 278–89, 431–53, 618–22, 657–96, 734–72; 8 (1884): 4–39, 89–121, 185–221, 282–320. Tiré à part, Bucarest, 1884, iii, 352 pp.

La plus complète monographie sur P. M.; utilise beaucoup d'inédits. Il serait intéressant de la comparer avec le livre de S. Golubev paru en 1883 et 1898.

17. ERBICEANU, Constantin. "Petru Movilă." *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 33 (1909–1910): n° 5, 6, 8, 10.

18. GHEORGHIU, Nicolae A. "'Intâmpinarea'" lui Meletios Syrigos şi Richard Simon" (La "Contestation" de Meletios Syrigos et Richard Simon). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 60 (1942): 421–38.

19. GROSU, Nicolae. "Caracterizarea canonică şi simbolică a sinodului dela Iaşi" (La caractérisation canonique et symbolique du synode de Iaşi). *Cronica Romanului,* 19 (Roman, 1941): 13–19.

20. HÂJDĂU, Alexandru. "Cuvânt către ucinicii sholii ţânutului Hotin, Ruşi şi Români" (Discours aux élèves russes et roumains de l'école du département de Xotyn). *Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură,* 1 (Bucarest, 1838): 161–67; *Curierul românesc,* 10 (1839): 37–43.

Histoire des institutions culturelles moldaves et des liens culturels entre "Ruthenes" et Roumains.

21. IONESCU, Teofil. "Codex parisinus 1265." *Vestitorul,* 3/7–8 (1942): 20–23.

22. ———. "Mitropolitul Petru Movilă şi catolicismul" (Le métropolite P. M. et le catholicisme). *Vestitorul,* 3/7–8 (Paris, 1942): 10–19.

23. ———. *La vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre Movila. Thèse présentée à la Faculté libre de théologie de Paris.* Paris, 1944. 260 pp.

24. Licea, Ion. *Contribuţiuni vechi româneşti la cultura altor popoare* (Anciennes contributions roumaines à la culture d'autres peuples). Galati, 1932.

Chapitre sur P. M.

25. Lungu, Gheorghe. "Un important moment istoric al legăturilor culturale şi bisericeşti ruso-române. Petru Movilă" (Un moment historique important dans les liens culturels et ecclésiastiques russo-roumains. P. M.). *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei,* 30 n° 11 (1954).

26. Lupaş, Ioan. "Mitropolitul Petru Movilă şi relaţiunile lui cu Românii" (Le métropolite P. M. et ses relations avec les Roumains). *Studii, conferinţe şi comunicări istorice* (Etudes, conférences et communications historiques), 4 (Sibiu, 1943): 83–91.

27. ———. [Titre exact inconnu]. *Revista teologică,* 18 (Sibiu, 1928): 245–49.

Traduction en roumain de la lettre du 27 octobre 1638 par laquelle P. M. demande au patriarche Cyrille Contari de Constantinople de lever l'anathème que Cyrille Lukaris avait jetée sur Moise Movilă. D'après le texte latin publié par E. Šmurlo, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1929), pp. 151–54 (Annexes).

28. Mateescu, Nicolae. *Petru Movilă, 1596–1646, mitropolitul Kievului* (P. M., 1596–1646, métropolite de Kiev). Bucarest, 1896.

29. Mazilu, Dan Horia. "Petru Movilă sau fascinaţia cărţii" (P. M. ou la fascination du livre). *Secolul 20,* n° 11–12 (Bucarest, 1977): 98–104.

30. ———. *Udrişte Năsturel.* Bucarest, 1974, pp. 23–41

P. M. et ses relations avec les pays roumains.

31. Melchisedec, Ştefănescu. "Biserica ortodoxă în luptă cu protestantismul în special cu calvinismul în veacul al XVII-lea şi cele două sinoade din Moldova contra calvinilor" (L'Eglise orthodoxe en lutte avec le protestantisme et spécialement le calvinisme au XVII[e] siècle et les deux synodes

tenus en Moldavie contre les calvinistes). *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secției istorice,* s. 2, vol. 12 (1889–90): 1–116. Tiré à part, Bucarest, 1893.

32. MIHĂILĂ, Gheorghe. "Două scrieri literare ale lui Petru Movilă adresate compatrioților săi" (Deux écrits littéraires de P. M. adressés à ses compatriotes). *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi* (Contributions à l'histoire de la culture et de la littérature roumaines anciennes) (Bucarest, 1972), pp. 183–228.

    Texte original et traduction roumaine complètes de la préface du *Triodъ Cvětnaja* (en ruthène) et de la *Mowa duchowna* (en polonais). Kiev, 1645.

33. ———. "Petru Movilă." *Literatura română veche (1402–1647)* (La littérature roumaine ancienne, 1402–1647), éd. G. Mihăilă et D. Zamfirescu, vol. 2 (Bucarest, 1969), pp. 260–69.

    Notice bio-bibliographique, traduction en roumain de la préface du *Triodъ Cvětnaja* de 1631 et de la préface dédiée à Vasile Lupu de *Mowa duchowna* de 1645.

34. MIHAILOVICI, Paul. *Două documente de legătură culturală dintre Români și Ruși* (Deux documents sur les liens culturels entre Roumains et Russes). Iași, 1930.

    La traduction roumaine de la préface du *Triodъ Cvětnaja* (Kiev, 1631).

35. ———. "Legături culturale bisericești dintre Români și Ruși în secolele XV–XX. Schiță istorică" (Les liens culturels et ecclésiastiques entre les Roumains et les Russes aux XV^e^–XX^e^ siècles. Esquisse historique). *Revista Societății istorice-arheologice-bisericești,* 22 (Kišinev, 1932): 199–276.

36. MIHĂLCESCU, Irineu. "Petru Movilă și sinodul de la Iași" (P. M. et le synode de Iași). *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei,* 18 (1942): 481–519. Tiré à part, Iași, 1943, 39 pp.

37. MINEA, Ilie. "Câteva precizări și interpretări noi în legătură cu sinodul dela Iași" (Quelques précisions et interprétations nouvelles concernant le synode de Iași). *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei,* 18 (1942): 520–27.

38. MINEA, Ilie et BOGA, L. T. "Despre cel mai vechiu document în legătură cu școala de la Trei Ierarhi" (A propos du plus ancien document relatif à l'école du couvent des Trois Hiérarques). *Cercetări istorice,* 10–12 (1934–36): 208–216.

Il s'agit de l'école fondée par Vasile Lupu avec, à sa tête, Sofronij Počas'kyj.

39. Moisescu, Iustin. "In legătură cu "Mărturisirea Ortodoxă" (A propos de la "Confession orthodoxe"). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 46 (1948): 357–62.

40. Negrescu, P. "Mitropolitul Petru Movilă înfăţişat în noua literatură teologică rusă" (Le métropolite P. M. dans la nouvelle littérature théologique russe). *Ortodoxia,* 4/1 (Bucarest, 1952): 135–60.

41. Nistor, Ion. "Contribuţii la relaţiunile dintre Moldova şi Ucraina în veacul al XVII-lea" (Contributions à l'histoire des relations de la Moldavie avec l'Ucraine au XVIIe siècle). *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secţiei istorice,* s. 3, vol. 13 (Bucarest, 1932–33): 186–221.

42. Nonea, Constantin. "Legăturile mitropolitului Varlaam [1632–1653] cu bisericile ortodoxe din Kiev şi Moscova" (Les relations du métropolite Varlaam de Moldavie [1632–1653] avec les Eglises orthodoxes de Kiev et de Moscou). *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei,* 33 (1957): 806–819.

43. Panaitescu, Petre P. "Un autograf al lui Petru Movilă pe un Tetravanghel al lui Ştefan cel Mare" (Un autographe de P. M. sur un Tétraévangile d'Etienne le Grand). *Revista istorică română,* 9 (1939): 82–87, une planche.

Notice de 1637 sur un manuscrit de 1493 conservé à Munich. Signalé d'abord par N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase a Românilor până la 1688* (cf. *supra,* note 86), p. 10. D. Dan, *O Evanghelie a lui Ştefan cel Mare în München* (Un Evangélaire d'Etienne le Grand à Munich) (Černivci, 1914); N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie,* vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1934), p. 47 et planches 1–9. Le manuscrit a été décrit par E. Turdeanu, "Manuscrise slave din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare" (Les manuscrits slaves de l'époque d'Etienne le Grand), *Cercetări literare,* 5 (Bucarest, 1943): 181–85; idem, "L'activité littéraire en Moldavie (1457–1504)," *Revue des études roumaines,* 5–6 (Paris, 1960): 56, nº 29/156.

44. ———. "O carte necunoscută a lui Petru Movilă dedicată lui Matei Basarab" (Un livre inconnu de P. M. dédié à Matei Basarab). *Omagiu lui Petre Constantinescu-Iaşi cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani* (Bucarest, 1965), pp. 295–301.

45. ———. "L'Influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Moghila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les Principautés roumaines." *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France,* 5/1 (Paris, 1926): 1–97. Tiré à part, Paris, 1926, 95 pp.

46. ———. "Petru Movilă, ctitor al tipografiilor române din veacul al XVII-lea" (P. M. fondateur des imprimeries roumaines du XVII[e] siècle). *Almanahul Graficei române* (Craiova, 1931), pp. 116–20.

47. ———. "Petru Movilă şi Românii" (P. M. et les Roumains). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 60 (1942): 403–20. Tiré à part, Bucarest, 1943, 20 pp. Républié dans P. P. Panaitescu, *Contribuţii la istoria culturii româneşti* (Contributions à l'histoire de la culture roumaine), éd. S. Panaitescu et D. Zamfirescu (Bucarest, 1971), pp. 575–95.

Analyse et traduction (partielle) en roumain de la préface du *Triodь Cvětnaja* de 1631 et du sermon tenu à Iaşi pour le mariage de Janusz Radziwiłł avec Maria Lupu, en 1645, imprimé à Kiev en 1645 dans une édition rare, *Mowa duchowna przy szlubie.*

48. Papacostea, Victor. "O şcoală de limbă şi cultură slavonă la Târgovişte în timpul domniei lui Matei Basarab" (Une école de langue et de culture slavones à Târgovişte sour le règne de Matei Basarab [1632–1654]). *Romanoslavica,* 5 (Bucarest, 1962): 183–94.

49. Petrescu, Ioan D. "Locul 'Mărturisirii ortodoxe' a lui Petru Movilă în ortodoxie" (La place de la "Confession orthodoxe" de P. M. dans l'Orthodoxie). *Predania,* 1/n° 8–9 (Bucarest, 1937): 11–18.

50. Petreuţă, Ioan. "Sinodul dela Iaşi şi Mărturisirea ortodoxă" (Le synode de Iaşi et la Confession orthodoxe). *Biserica bănăţeană,* 3/n° 9–13, 15–17 (Timişoara, 1941).

51. Petrovici, Teodor. *Petru Movilă, mitropolitul Chievului* (P. M., le métropolite de Kiev). Bucarest, 1941.

52. Plămădeală, Antonie. "Eveniment mondial la Iaşi: Sinodul din 1642" (Un événement de portée mondiale à Iaşi: le sinode de 1642). *Dascăli de cuget şi simţire românească* (Maîtres de l'esprit et du sentiment roumains). Bucarest, 1981. Pp. 180–91.

53. Popescu, Nicolae M. "Petru Movilă." *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 65/1–3, (1947): 9–29.

Discussion autour du livre de Gh. Enăceanu (cf. *supra,* n° 16).

54. ———. "Pomenirea mitropolitului Petru Movilă şi a Sinodului dela Iaşi" (La commémoration du métropolite P. M. et du synode de Iaşi). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 60 (1942): 387–402.

Le même texte, sous le titre: "Pomenirea de trei sute de ani a Sinodului dela Iaşi, 15 septemvrie până la 27 octomvrie 1642" (La commémoration des 300 ans du synode de Iaşi, tenu du 15 septembre au 27 octobre 1642). *Analele Academiei române, Memoriile secţiei istorice,* s. 3, vol. 25 (1942–43): 423–41.

55. POPESCU, Nicolae M., et MOISESCU, Gheorghe I. 'Ορθόδοξος ομολογία, *Mărturisirea ortodoxă. Text grec inedit ms. Parisinus 1265. Text român ediţiă Buzău 1691. Editată de . . .* (La Confession orthodoxe. Le texte grec inédit du ms. Parisinus 1265. Le texte roumain de l'édition de Buzau, 1691. Editée par . . .). Bucarest, 1942–44. lxviii, 352 pp.

Edition définitive, avec un commentaire très poussé. Analyse des dix-sept éditions roumaines de la *Confession orthodoxe* de P. M., dont les plus importantes sont les suivantes: Buzău, 1691; Snagov, 1699; Bucarest, 1745, 1827, 1853, 1895 (édition du Saint-Synode due à Gh. Enăceanu); Monastère de Neamţ, 1844, 1864 (préface de F. Scriban, cf. n° 60); Iaşi, 1874; Sibiu, 1855, 1814. Pour la déscription des quatre premières éditions, voir I. Bianu et N. Hodoş, *Bibliografia românească veche* (La Bibliographie roumaine ancienne), vol. 1: *1508–1716* (Bucarest, 1903), pp. 321 (Buzău, 1691), 378 (Snagov, 1699); vol. 2: *1716–1808* (Bucarest, 1910), p. 224 (Bucarest, 1745); vol. 3: *1809–1830* (Bucarest, 1912–1936), p. 553 (Bucarest, 1827). Pour le vol. 3, coauteur D. Simonescu.

56. POPESCU, Simion. "Sinodul dela Iaşi din 1642" (Le synode de Iaşi de 1642). *Renaşterea,* 21/n° 10 (1942): 557–65.

57. PORCESCU, Scarlat. "Tiparniţa de la Biserica Trei Ierarhi-Iaşi. Cea dintâi carte imprimată în Moldova (1643)" (L'imprimerie du couvent des Trois Hiérarques de Iaşi. Le premier livre imprimé en Moldavie [1643]). *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei* 47 (1971): 204–15.

58. REZUŞ, Petru. "Academia movileană din Kiev şi rolul ei în dezvoltarea învăţământului teologic din ţările române" (L'Académie de P. M. à Kiev et son rôle dans le développement de l'enseignement théologique dans les pays roumains). *Mitropolia Olteniei,* 19 (Craiova, 1967): 699–708.

59. SAVIN, Gheorghe Ioan. "Mitropolitul Petru Movilă şi sinodul de la Iaşi. Contribuţii româneşti la viaţa spirituală rusă" (Le métropolite P. M. et le synode de Iaşi. Contributions roumaines à la vie spirituelle russe). *Cetatea Moldovei,* 2 (Iaşi, 1941): 11–12.

60. SCRIBAN, Filaret. "Viaţa mitropolitului Petru Movilă" (La Vie du métro-

polite P. M.). *Mărturisirea ortodoxă a apostoliceştei şi catoliceştei biserici de răsărit* (Mânăstirea Neamţ, 1844).

Préface a l'édition roumaine de la *Confession orthodoxe* de P. M. Rééditions Neamţ, 1864; Iaşi, 1874; Sibiu, 1914.

61. ———. "Vieaţa mitropolitului Petru Movilă" (La Vie du métropolite P. M.). *Zimbrul,* 2 (Iaşi, 1851): 105–108; *Vestitorul românesc,* 16 (Bucarest, 1851): 305–307, 309–10; *Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură,* 14 (Bucarest, 1851): 337–39.

La même biographie que celle du n° 60, *supra,* publiée dans trois journaux différents.

62. ŞESAN, Milan. "In amintirea soborului dela Iaşi din 1642" (En souvenir du synode de Iaşi de 1642). *Candela,* 53–54 (Černivci, 1942–43): 154–61.

63. SIMONESCU, Dan, et BOGDAN, Damian P. "Inceputurile culturale ale domniei lui Matei Basarab" (Les débuts culturels du règne de Matei Basaraba). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 56 (1938): 866–80. Tiré à part, Bucarest, 1939, 19 pp.

Préface (texte slavon et traduction roumaine) du *Molitvennik* de Câmpulung, 1635, imprimé grâce à l'aide de P. M.

64. STEFANESCU, Ioan D. "Portretele lui Petru Movilă" (Les portraits de P. M.). *Biserica ortodoxa română,* 65/1–3 (1947): 4–8.

65. ———. "Etudes d'iconographie et d'histoire. Portraits inconnus de Georges Mogila, métropolite de Moldavie et de Pierre Mogila, métropolite de Kiev." *Revista istorică română,* 4 (1934): 71–75, deux planches.

L'auteur croit avoir identifié un portrait de P. M. à Suceviţa, dont la peinture serait de 1630. Identification contestée par S. Ulea, "Portretul unui ctitor uitat al mânăstirii Suceviţa: Teodosie Barboschi, mitropolit al Moldovei" (Le portrait d'un fondateur oublié du monastère de Suceviţa: le métropolite de Moldavie Teodosie Barboschi), *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei,* n° 2 (Bucarest, 1959): 241–49. Un autre auteur, V. Brătulescu, pense qu'il s'agit du portrait de Ion Movilă, le père de Gheorghe, Ieremia et Simion. Cf. "Portretul logofătului Ioan Movilă (monahul Ioanichie) în tabloul votiv de la Suceviţa" (Le portrait du chancelier Ioan Movila [le moine Ioanichie] dans le tableau votiv de Suceviţa), *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei,* 42 (1966): 23–53.

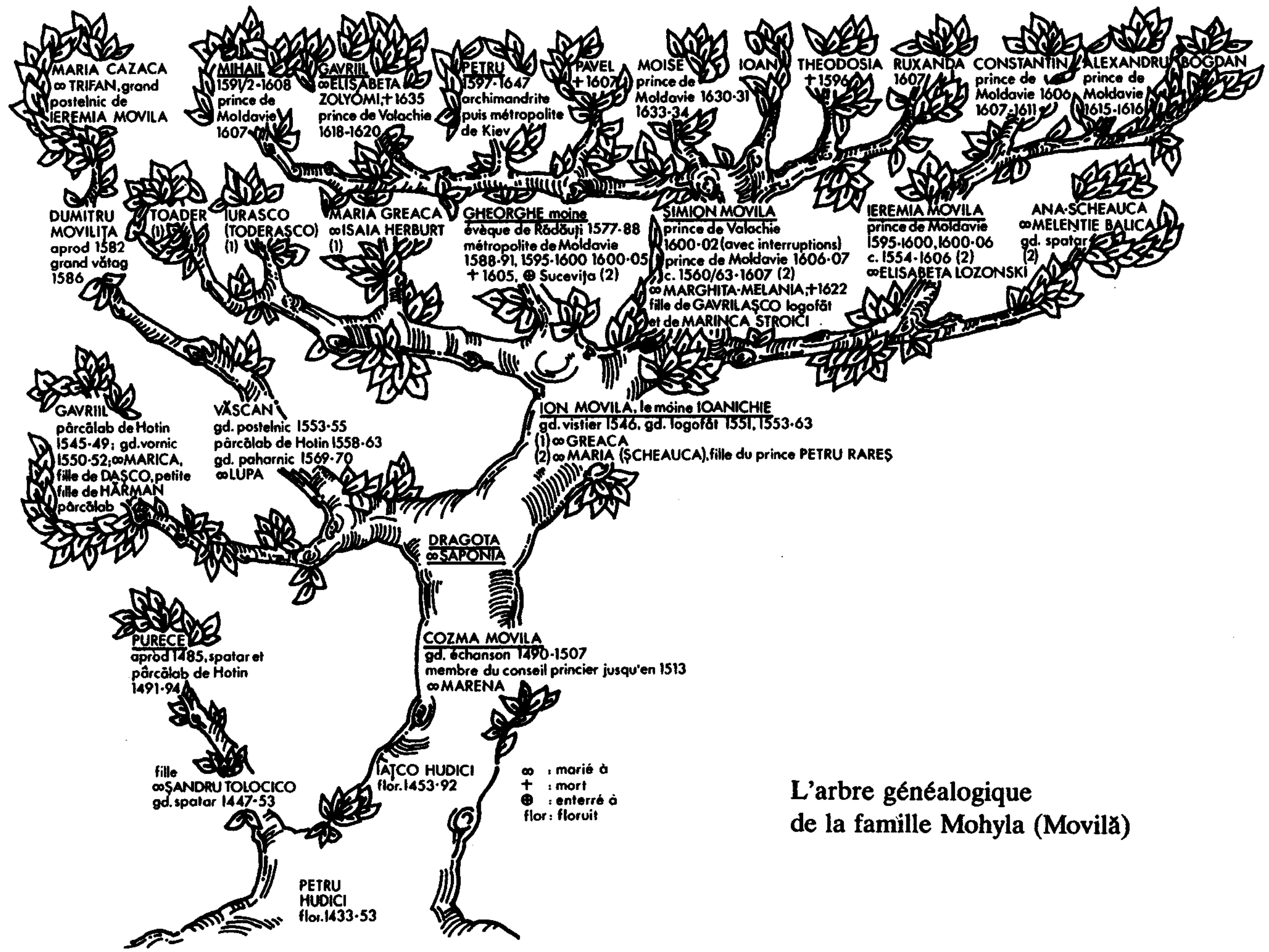
66. ŞTREMPEL, Gabriel. "Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului românesc în secolul

al XVII-lea" (L'aide accordée par la Russie aux imprimeries roumaines au XVII[e] siècle). *Studii şi cercetări de bibliologie,* 1 (Bucarest, 1955): 15–42.

67. SUTTNER, Ernest Christian. "Noi date şi precizări în legătură cu Sinodul de la Iaşi din anul 1642" (Données nouvelles et précisions relatives au synode de Iaşi de 1642). *Biserica ortodoxă română,* 93 (1975): 1107–1113.

68. VASILESCU, Emilian. "Petru Movilă, apărător al ortodoxiei" (P. M., défenseur de l'orthodoxie). *Gândirea,* 20 (Bucarest, 1941): 563–68.

C.N.R.S., Paris



L'arbre généalogique
de la famille Mohyla (Movilă)

Select Bibliography of Works on the Kiev Mohyla Academy by Polish Scholars (1966–1983)

PAULINA LEWIN

The Kiev Mohyla Academy has long been of great interest to Polish scholars in the fields of history, church history, literature, education, language, and the arts, as well as, of course, to students of Polish-Ukrainian relations. Many important works about the academy were published by Polish scholars in the nineteenth and at the turn of the twentieth century (e.g., A. Jabłonowski's *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi,* Lviv, 1899–1900). Afterwards, however, there was a long period of silence, which ended only in the 1960s, with the publication of Ryszard Łużny's *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (no. 17 below). The study proved to be a turning point in Polish scholarship, for it was followed by renewed research on the Kiev Mohyla Academy, resulting in new findings and the publications listed in this bibliography. Items are arranged alphabetically by author; items by the same author are listed chronologically by year of publication.*

***

1. DĘBSKI, Jan. *Twórczość rosyjskich sylabistów i tradycje literackie.* Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1983. 88 pp.

   Discusses the writings of Russian syllabic poets who were trained at the Kiev Mohyla Academy and the writings of their followers, with special attention to Symeon Poloc'kyj, Stefan Javors'kyj, and Feofan Prokopovyč.

2. GALSTER, Irena. "Staroruski przekład dzieła Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego 'De republica emendanda.'" *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej,*

* References to the "Academy" are to the Kiev Mohyla School and its successor, the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

ser. A: Historia nauk społecznych, no. 13 (Warsaw, 1975), pp. 75–128 (Russian and French summaries on pp. 128–31).

A linguistic and textual analysis of the translation of Modrzewski's Latin treatise. To convince the reader that its Ruthenian translations were re-translations from the Polish, the author dwells on the command of Polish prevalent in the milieu of the Academy (esp. pp. 82–83).

3. KARWECKI, Piotr. "Prawosławna homiletyka Joanicjusza Galatowskiego (Przełom w prawosławnej homiletyce XVII w.)." *Studia Theologica Varsoviensis* 10, no. 2 (1972): 205–233 (French summary, pp. 233–47). [See also no. 25, below.]

Dwells on the changes that occurred in Ukrainian Orthodox homiletics in the seventeenth century; the genre was best expressed in the sermons and handbook for preachers of Galjatovs'kyj, who was closely associated with the Academy.

4. KOWALSKA, Halina. "Moviła (Moghilâ, Movilă) Piotr." *Polski Słownik Biograficzny,* Polska Akademia Nauk, vol. 21/3, no. 90 (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1976), pp. 568–72.

A sober and reliable biographical entry on the founder of the Academy, with bibliographical references.

5. LEWIN, Paulina. *Intermedia wschodniosłowiańskie XVI–XVIII wieku.* Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1967. 153 pp.

A detailed survey and analysis of all extant East Slavic *intermedia,* which were short comic skits on everyday life performed between the acts of serious plays. The author ascertains that the Latin term *intermedium* and knowledge of its general characteristics and its dramatic devices came to the East Slavs via Jesuit schools in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The genre absorbed the customs and local color of the region and was easily adapted from the school to the popular stage. The second chapter (pp. 27–59) examines specifically Ukrainian *intermedia* (chronological index, pp. 148–49).

6. ———. "Intermedia białoruskie, ukraińskie i rosyjskie—ważniejsze cechy i różnice." *Wrocławskie spotkania teatralne* (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1969), pp. 121–41.

Deals in part with Ukrainian *intermedia* and their school connections (pp. 129–33).

7. ———. "Intermedia wschodniosłowiańskie a intermedia polskie." *O wza-*

jemnych powiązaniach polsko-rosyjskich (Wrocław, 1969), pp. 12–35.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the staging of all extant East Slavic and of 36 Polish *intermedia*. Through comparative analysis, the author shows that Polish *intermedia* and their East Slavic counterparts which originated in the Kiev Mohyla Academy belong to the same type of theater—one that was both popular and quite professional, a theater that strived for audience identification and participation.

8. ———. "Sceničeskaja struktura vostočnoslavjanskix intermedij." *Russkaja literatura na rubeže dvux èpox (XVII–načalo XVIII v.),* Issledovanija i materialy po drevnerusskoj literature (Moscow, 1971), pp. 105–127.

Examines the stage structure of, among others, the *intermedia* written and performed at the Academy.

9. ———. "Dawne polonica literackie w archiwach Moskwy i Leningradu." *Slavia Orientalis,* 1972, no. 1, pp. 73–99.

Includes descriptions of several rare manuscripts from the Academy, mainly lectures on poetics and rhetoric dating from the end of the seventeenth century and from the eighteenth century, as well as of some old prints.

10. ———. *Wykłady poetyki w uczelniach rosyjskich XVIII wieku (1722–1774) a tradycje polskie.* Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1972. 190 pp.

Investigates, on the basis of the author's own archival findings, the content of lectures on poetics in ecclesiastical schools in eighteenth-century Russia. Concludes that since professors largely copied lectures delivered at the Kiev Mohyla Academy, the Kiev tradition shaped Russian students' aesthetic views.

11. ———. "Ruskie formy parateatralne XVI–XVIII w. na dawnych ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej." *Slavia Orientalis,* 1973, no. 3, pp. 287–304.

Examined here are school declamations, consisting of a series of verses with a common theme or subject and recited in turn by students, not only in schools but also at various places during vacation excursions.

12. ———. "Teoria akuminu w estetycznej świadomości Wschodniej Słowiańszczyzny XVI–XVIII wieku a traktat Sarbiewskiego." *Literatura staropolska i jej związki europejskie* (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1973), pp. 309–322.

Places the aesthetic views first imparted to the East Slavs at the Academy

(where the ideas of the Polish Jesuit Sarbiewski were expounded) within the framework of the European Baroque, which highly valued skillful construction of acute conceits in writing and in speeches.

13. ———. "Nieznana poetyka kijowska z XVII wieku." *Z dziejów stosunków literackich polsko-ukraińskich* (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1974), pp. 71–90.

    Adds to the analyses of Kievan lectures on poetics already done by Mykola Petrov, Hryhoryj Syvokin', and Ryszard Łużny a detailed description of a manuscript, discovered by the author, of lectures delivered in 1689 by the Reverend Partheniusz Rodowicz.

14. ———. "Początki teatru ukraińskiego. Problematyka i zamierzenia badawcze." *Języki i literatury wschodniosłowiańskie. Materiały Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Naukowej. Łódź, 14–15 czerwca 1976* (Łódź, 1976), pp. 115–21.

    Points out the close connections of all forms of the early Ukrainian theater with the Kiev Mohyla School, and discusses the theater's religious nature and role as an intermediary between the west and east of Europe. Summarizes the scholarly achievements in the field, calls for further research, and suggests new approaches to the problem.

15. ———. "Literatura staropolska a literatury wschodniosłowiańskie. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze." *Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim: Związki i analogie* (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1977), pp. 139–68.

    A broad and detailed survey of scholarly activities and approaches in the field of Polish East-Slavic literary relations of the sixteenth to eighteenth century. The role of the Kiev Mohyla Academy is emphasized and unresolved problems are indicated.

16. ———. "Nieznany staropolski utwór sceniczny z Kijowa." *Pamiętnik Teatralny,* 1978, no. 3 (107), pp. 383–408.

    Publication of the author's archival discovery—a Polish Christmas play written at the Academy at the turn of the eighteenth century that is a striking example of the Baroque style.

17. ŁUŻNY, Ryszard. *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska: Z dziejów związków kulturalnych polsko-wschodniosłowiańskich XVII–XVIII wieku.* Cracow, 1966. 170 pp.

    The author has extracted all Polish texts from seventeenth- and eighteenth-

century manuscripts of lectures on poetics at the Academy and here identifies them. To illustrate the theory and norm of literature, Orthodox professors routinely quoted from Polish writers, such as Jan Kochanowski, Piotr Kochanowski, Szymon Szymonowic, Samuel Twardowski, Wespazjan Kochowski and Albert Ines, and from the neo-Latin poet and theoretician Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski. They were familiar with the Polish epigrams and rhymes known as *fraszki,* and with anonymous calendar poetry. They were also well read in Polish homiletic literature, primarily the sermons of Piotr Skarga and Tomasz Młodzianowski, and knew the work of Stryjkowski and other Polish historians. The book also discusses the Polish writings of three eminent Kiev professors—Lazar Baranovyč, Symeon Poloc'kyj, and Feofan Prokopovyč.

18. ———. "'Poètika' Feofana Prokopoviča i teoria poezii v Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii (Pervaja polovina XVIII veka)." *Rol' i značenie literatury XVIII veka v istorii russkoj kul'tury,* Sbornik XVIII vek, 7 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), pp. 47–53.

The author seeks "only to raise a question which, when elaborated, would show the role of Prokopovyč's work in the development of a theory of literature and the writings of his followers, who regarded his 'Poetics' as a model" (p. 48).

19. ———. "'Psałterz rymowany' Symeona Połockiego a 'Psałterz Dawidów' Jana Kochanowskiego." *Slavia Orientalis,* 1966, no. 1, pp. 3–27.

Establishes, through a detailed comparison of the two texts, that although Poloc'kyj reproduced quite successfully the rich verse and stanza structures of Kochanowski's *Psalter,* his work—that of a former student of the Academy—was above all a faithful adaptation in verse of the Orthodox biblical text.

20. ———. "Stefan Jaworski—poeta nieznany." *Slavia Orientalis,* 1967, no. 4, pp. 363–73.

See no. 22 below.

21. ———. "Dawne piśmiennictwo ukraińskie a polskie tradycje literackie." *Z dziejów stosunków literackich polsko-ukraińskich* (Wrocław, etc.: Ossolineum, 1974), pp. 7–36.

A general outline of Ukrainian literature from the sixteenth to first half of the eighteenth century in its relation to Polish literature, and of the Academy's role in its development.

22. ———. "Twórczość Stefana Jaworskiego, poety ukraińsko-rosyjsko-polskiego, czyli raz jeszcze o baroku wschodniosłowiańskim." *Języki i literatury wschodniosłowiańskie. Materiały Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Naukowej. Łódź, 14–15 czerwca 1976* (Łódź, 1976), pp. 103–114.

Both articles relate the life and career of Javors'kyj, alumnus and professor of the Academy, and draw attention to his now forgotten poetry as a striking example of the literary Baroque.

23. ———. "Kijowski siedemnastowieczny wariant cerkiewno-słowiańskiego pateryka." *Slovo. Časopis Staroslavenskog zavoda* (Zagreb), 28 (1978): 35–43.

Deals with the reworking and publication of the Kiev *Patericon* by the Kiev circle of churchmen and scholars, many of whom were connected with the Academy. Discusses the uses of the *Patericon* in the religious polemics of seventeenth-century Ukraine, concentrating in particular on the Polish translation by Sylvester Kossov.

24. NODZYŃSKA, L. "Pateryk Pieczerski. Dzieje zabytku w Polsce." *Slavica Wratislaviensia,* 2 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 129) (1971): 5–27. [See no. 23.]

25. WITKOWSKI, W. *Język utworów Joanicjusza Galatowskiego na tle piśmiennictwa ukraińskiego XVII wieku.* Cracow, 1969. 167 pp.

A linguistic analysis of the Ukrainian literary language of the seventeenth century, especially of the writings of the outstanding preacher and writer Galjatovs'kyj, alumnus, professor, and rector of the Academy.

A Select Bibliography of Soviet Publications Related to the Kiev Mohyla Academy and its Founder, 1970–1983

compiled by

OMELJAN PRITSAK and OKSANA PROCYK

This select bibliography covers the years 1970–1983 and lists primarily the work of Soviet Ukrainian scholars, although the work of Russian and other Soviet writers is also taken into account. We survey the literature published after the appearance of the first edition (1970) of Zoja Xyžnjak's monograph on the Kiev Mohyla Academy, a work that gives access to some earlier literature. We have restricted our list to publications that either bear directly on Mohyla and his school or discuss the work of the school's most distinguished alumni. As a result, relevant but specialized works are sometimes omitted. For instance, the year 1972, the 250th anniversary of Skovoroda's birth, produced many scholarly publications about the work of this alumnus of the Kiev Mohyla Academy; only a few of the most important items, however, are included here.

Items are arranged alphabetically by author or, in the case of collections or publications by several authors, by title. Entries by the same author are listed chronologically, so that the author's earliest published work appears first. Included are brief annotations and reviews of the items known to us. Two indexes are provided: an index of authors of the sixteenth to eighteenth century whose works were republished or mentioned in the annotations of the entries; and an index of modern authors, compilers, editors, translators, and reviewers.

This list of 108 items is a selection from a more comprehensive bibliography of Soviet scholarly works published between 1958 and 1983 that deal with Ukrainian cultural history from the end of the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. That bibliography is to appear in the publication series of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

ABBREVIATIONS

BIL	=	Biblioteka imeni V. I. Lenina. Moscow.
CNB	=	Central'na naukova biblioteka Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR. Kiev.
FD	=	*Filosofs'ka dumka.* Kiev.
GPB	=	Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka. Leningrad.
HUS	=	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies.* Cambridge, Mass.
IstDos	=	*Istoryčni doslidžennja ta jix vykorystannja.* Kiev.
ND	=	Naukova dumka. Kiev.
NTE	=	*Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija.* Kiev.
Rec	=	*Recenzija.* Cambridge, Mass.
RL	=	*Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo.* Kiev.
TODRL	=	*Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury AN SSSR.* Moscow and Leningrad.
UI	=	*Ukrajins'kyj istoryk.* New York, Toronto, Munich.
UIŽ	=	*Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal.* Kiev.
UK	=	*Ukrajins'ka knyha.* Philadelphia.
UMLŠ	=	*Ukrajins'ka mova i literatura v školi.* Kiev.
Un-t	=	University press.
USKT	=	Ukrajins'ke suspil'no-kul'turne tovarystvo. Warsaw.
VŠ	=	Vyšča škola. Kiev and Lviv.

1. *Apollonova ljutnja: Kyjivs'ki poety XVII–XVIII st.* Volodymyr Krekoten', ed. Kiev: Molod', 1982. 310 pp.

A representative collection of poetry by 41 Kievan poets of the 17th and 18th centuries who were either students or teachers at the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The anthology, beautifully illustrated, is translated into modern Ukrainian from Middle Ukrainian, Church Slavonic, Latin, and Polish.

2. *Barokko v slavjanskix kul'turax.* A. V. Lipatov, A. I. Rogov, and L. A. Sofronova, eds. Moscow: Nauka, 1982. 351 pp.

Three articles are relevant: A. A. Morozov, "Symeon Poloc'kyj and problems of the East Slavic Baroque" (pp. 170–90); V. K. Bylinin and V. A. Grixin, "Symeon Poloc'kyj and Simon Ušakov: On the problem of the aesthetics of the Russian baroque" (pp. 191–219); Volodymyr Krekoten', "The topic of 'scholarship' in Ukrainian Baroque poetry of the 1630s" (pp. 255–75; an analysis of the *Eucharisterion*).

3. BILODID, Ivan. *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija v istoriji sxidnoslov'jans'kyx literaturnyx mov.* Kiev: ND, 1979. 197 pp.

Three of the book's 8 studies by Bilodid deal with the Kiev Mohyla Academy: "The teaching of languages in the Ukraine in the 16th-17th centuries" (pp. 22–47); "The concept of language at the Kiev Mohyla Academy" (pp. 48–84); "The role of

H. S. Skovoroda in the history of the Ukrainian literary language" (pp. 115–29).

4. BILODID, Oles', and XARLAMOV, Viktor. "Znaxidky pid fundamentom Uspens'koho soboru." *Kyjiv* (Kiev), 1983, no. 9, pp. 148–57.

In 1982, during reconstruction of the Cathedral of the Dormition (destroyed in 1941), an inscribed plate made of silver and coming from the grave of Peter Mohyla was found in the Caves Monastery complex. Bilodid gives the Middle Ukrainian text of this epitaph, which indicates that Mohyla was born on 21 December 1574—not in 1596, as was hitherto believed.

5. BILOUS, Petro. "Tvorča spadščyna Vasylja Hryhorovyča-Bars'koho," *RL*, 1981, no. 11, pp. 60–68.

On the literary legacy of Vasyl' Hryhorovyč-Bars'kyj (1701–1747), itinerant monk and alumnus of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

6. BORODIJ, M. "Učast' vyxovanciv Kyjivs'koji akademiji v rozvytku vitčyznjanoji medycyny XVIII st." *UIŽ*, 1980, no. 3, pp. 96–102.

The role of the Kiev Academy's alumni in the development of medical science in the Ukraine and Russia in the 18th century, with a list of 26 specific contributions.

7. BYŠOVEC', V., and NIČYK, Valerija. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Teofan Prokopovyč." *FD*, 1970, no. 3, pp. 92–94.

Introduction to item 74 of this bibliography.

8. DOVHALEVS'KYJ, Mytrofan. *Poetyka (Sad poetyčnyj)*. Pereklad, prymitky ta slovnyk imen i nazv V. Masljuka. Kiev: Mystectvo, 1973. 435 pp. (Pam''jatky estetyčnoji dumky).

Dovhalevs'kyj's lectures on poetry read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy during the academic year 1736–1737 were compiled in the work "Hortus poeticus." On the basis of two copies of the original Latin manuscript (CNB mss. 251 and 261) Vitalij Masljuk prepared this Ukrainian translation, with notes and a dictionary of names. The introductory essay by Ivan Ivan'o evaluates Dovhalevs'kyj's sources and contribution to literary theory.

9. DRUŠKEVYČ, Je. "Joasaf Krokovs'kyj." *Ukrajins'kyj kalendar 1973* (Warsaw: USKT, 1972), pp. 270–71.

On Krokovs'kyj's activity at the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

10. DYLEC'KYJ, Mykola. *Hramatyka muzykal'na: Fotokopija rukopysu 1723 roku.* Pidhotuvala do vydannja O. S. Calaj-Jakymenko. Kiev: Muzyčna Ukrajina, 1970. xciv, 111 pp.

A facsimile edition of a 1723 manuscript copy (found in the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art, fond no. 87/510804) of Dylec'kyj's treatise on the theory of music originally written in Ukrainian in 1677, with a transcription, afterword, and commentary by Oleksandra Calaj-Jakymenko. Appended are a short glossary and summaries in Russian, English, and German.

Rev. by Stephen Reynolds in *Rec* 5, no. 2 (1975): 27–33.

11. DZJUBA, O., "Peredmovy ta pisljamovy do starodrukiv jak džerelo vyvčennja istoriji osvity na Ukrajini v druhij polovyni XVI–peršij polovyni XVII st." *UIŽ*,

1980, no. 1, pp. 135–43.

Forewords and afterwords in old printed books of the 16th and 17th centuries as sources for the study of the history of education in the Ukraine.

12. ERCIĆ, Vlastimir. *Manuil (Mihail) Kozačinskij i njegova Traedokomedija.* Novi Sad and Beograd: Institut za Književnost i Umetnost Matica Srpska, Srpsko Narodno Pozorište, 1980. 765 pp.

A beautifully produced monograph in two parts: (1) a comprehensive, well-documented biography of Kozačyns'kyj and his activity in the Ukraine and Serbia (pp. 17–189); (2) a critical edition of Kozačyns'kyj's *Traedokomedija*, with extensive commentaries. The book is illustrated with reproductions of many engravings from old Ukrainian imprints.

Rev. by O. Myšanyč in *RL*, 1981, no. 11, pp. 88–91.

13. *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody.* Volodymyr Šynkaruk, ed. Kiev: ND, 1972. 311 pp.

V. Šynkaruk, V. Ivan'o, D. Kyryk, and V. Ničyk, all fellows of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, discuss Skovoroda's philosophy in four chapters: (1) formation of his system; (2) Skovoroda and the philosophical traditions of the Kiev Mohyla Academy; (3) Skovoroda's teachings on two natures and three worlds; (4) Skovoroda's ethical theory.

Rev. by John-Paul Himka in *Rec* 4, no. 2 (1974): 3–13.

14. *Filosofskaja mysl' v Kieve: Istoriko-filosofskij očerk.* Volodymyr Šynkaruk, editor-in-chief. Kiev: ND, 1982. 357 pp.

Nineteen authors have contributed to this history of philosophical thought in Kiev from the time of princely Rus' to the present. Chapter 2 (pp. 78–157), written jointly by V. Ničyk, I. Paslavs'kyj, and I. Ivan'o, is devoted to philosophical thought at the Kiev Mohyla Academy, with special attention given to its impact on Skovoroda and Skovoroda's influence, in turn, on its later development.

Rev. by A. Kolodna in *FD*, 1983, no. 3, pp. 113–15.

15. FOMENKO, Valentyn. "Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija ta jiji rol' u rozvytku obrazotvorčoho mystectva." *NTE*, 1981, no. 4, pp. 24–32.

The study focuses on the art of engraving and describes the work of students and artists at the Academy, with Ivan Ščyrs'kyj (d. after 1714) and Hryhorij Levyc'kyj (1697–1769) among the most prominent.

16. GIZEL', Inokentij. "Pracja z zahal'noji filosofiji: Metafizyčnyj traktat." Latyns'kyj tekst dešyfruvala N. I. Bezborod'ko, z latyns'koji pereklav M. D. Rohovyč, filosofs'ka redakcija V. M. Ničyk. *FD*, 1970, no. 1, pp. 102–113.

Ukrainian translation of the "Metaphysical tract" from Gizel's lectures on general philosophy (his second course) read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in 1646–1647. The original manuscript is in CNB šyfr. MAK/p. 128.

Cf. item 73 of this bibliography.

17. HAMREC'KYJ, Marko. "Do 350-riččja školy na Ukrajini." *Arxivy Ukrajiny*, 1970, no. 4, pp. 27–31.

An account of prominent students at the Kiev Mohyla Academy, with information about their courses of study and daily life.

18. HRONS'KYJ, I. "Lekciji z syntaksysu Mytrofana Dovhalevs'koho." *RL*, 1982, no. 7, pp. 64–68.

On M. Dovhalevs'kyj's "Lessons on Syntax" read at the Kiev Academy in 1735–36. The original manuscript is in the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art, inv. no. R1-0-31.

19. HRYCAJ, Myxajlo. *Davnja ukrajins'ka poezija: Rol' fol'kloru u formuvanni obraznoho myslennja ukrajins'kyx poetiv XVI–XVIII st.* Kiev: Un-t, 1972. 155 pp.

Investigation of the role of folklore in the development of Ukrainian poetic imagery; the monograph deals especially with oratory and songs.

Rev. by B. Derkač, in *RL*, 1972, no. 8, p. 91; and by M. Lohvynenko in *UMLŠ*, 1978, no. 8, pp. 89–90.

20. ______. *Ukrajins'ka dramaturhija XVII–XVIII st.* Kiev: VŠ, 1974. 197 pp.

The author treats three kinds of Ukrainian theatrical productions: the school drama, the *intermedia*, and the *vertep* drama.

Rev. by V. Mykytas' in *RL*, 1975, no. 12, pp. 81–83; and by F. Poliščuk in *UMLŠ*, 1976, no. 3, pp. 90–92.

21. ______ *Davnja ukrajins'ka proza: Rol' fol'kloru u formuvanni obraznoho myslennja ukrajins'kyx prozajikiv XVI–počatku XVIII st.* Kiev: VŠ, 1975. 149 pp.

On elements of folklore in the polemical literature and chronicles of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Cf. item 19 above.

22. *Idejnye svjazi progressivnyx myslitelej bratskix narodov (XVII–XVIII vv.).* Valerija Ničyk, ed. Kiev: ND, 1978. 190 pp.

The majority of contributions deal with the period of the Academy: Podokšin, S. A. and M. Rohovyč, "Francisk Skorina and the philosophical thought of the East Slavic peoples" (pp. 47–62); Stratij, Ja., "The problem of the eternity of the world in the works of Russian and Ukrainian thinkers of the 16th and 17th centuries" (pp. 62–79); Ursul, D., "Milescu Spafarij and the socio-political thought of Russia and the Ukraine at the end of the 17th-beginning of the 18th century" (pp. 80–94); Ničyk, V., "Havryjil Bužyns'kyj, a Russian-Ukrainian thinker of the beginning of the 18th century" (pp. 95–114); Babij, A. and V. Ničyk, "Kantemir and Prokopovyč" (pp. 115–34); Kašuba, M., "The place of Heorhij Konys'kyj in Ukrainian-Belorussian philosophical relations" (pp. 135–44); Ivan'o, I., "Skovoroda and Russian philosophical culture of the 18th century" (pp. 145–61); Rohovyč, M., "Agreement in the resolution of ethical and socio-political problems between Russian and Ukrainian political thinkers of the 18th century" (pp. 162–78).

23. ISAJEVYČ, Jaroslav. *Džerela z istoriji ukrajins'koji kul'tury doby feodalizmu XVI–XVIII st.* Kiev: ND, 1972. 144 pp.

Study of sources for the history of Ukrainian culture of the 16th to 18th centuries.

Rev. by Frank E. Sysyn in *Rec* 4, no. 2 (1974): 14–32.

24. ISAJEVYČ, Ja., and MYC'KO, I. "Žyttja i vydavnyča dijal'nist' Kyryla-Trankviliona Stavrovec'koho." *Bibliotekoznavstvo ta bibliohrafija* (Kiev: ND, 1982), pp. 51–67.

A good survey of the life and work of Kyrylo-Trankvilion Stavrovec'kyj, with a description of twelve of his publications.

25. IVAN'O, Ivan. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Teofan Prokopovyč." *FD*, 1970, no. 6, pp. 90–91.

Introduction to item 70 of this bibliography.

26. ______. "Pro ukrajins'ke literaturne barokko." *RL*, 1970, no. 10, pp. 41–53.

The author argues that one of the major characteristics of Ukrainian baroque literature is emblematic symbolism.

Rev. by John-Paul Himka in *Rec* 2, no. 1 (1971): 15–26.

27. ______. *Očerk razvitija èstetičeskoj mysli Ukrainy.* Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1981. 422 pp.

In chapter 3 Ivan'o discusses aesthetic thought at the Kiev Mohyla Academy during the 17th and 18th centuries, in three subsections: (1) textbooks on rhetoric and their role in developing the terminology of aesthetics; (2) textbooks on poetics as documents of aesthetic thought; (3) the aesthetic concepts of Prokopovyč.

Rev. by L. Stecenko in *FD*, 1983, no. 1, pp. 124–27.

28. ______. *Filosofija i styl' myslennja H. Skovorody.* Kiev: ND, 1983. 268 pp.

This study is the first structural approach to the philosophical creativity of Skovoroda. The analysis combines Skovoroda's cognative method and individual thought, with stress on the ethical and aesthetic components of his philosophy. Includes an index of personal names.

29. JAVORS'KYJ, Stefan. "Zmahannja perypatetykiv: Kurs peršyj, abo Lohika." Pereklad z latyns'koji I. S. Zaxary, filosofs'ka redakcija V. M. Ničyk. *FD*, 1971, no. 2, pp. 100–110.

Chapter on logic from Javors'kyj's course on philosophy entitled "Agonium peripateticum," which he read in 1691–1693 at the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The original manuscript is in CNB 60M/42, 77 zv.

Cf. item 105 of this bibliography.

30. ______. "Čy maje materija vlasne isnuvannja, vidminne vid isnuvannja formy?" Pereklad z latyns'koji I. S. Zaxary, special'na redakcija M. V. Kašuby, filosofs'ka redakcija V. M. Ničyk. *FD*, 1971, no. 3, pp. 98–107.

Chapter on matter from Javors'kyj's course on physics. The original Latin manuscript is in CNB DS/152P.

Cf. item 106 of this bibliography.

31. ______. "Dysput III: Pro čuttjevu dušu." Pereklad z latyns'koji I. S. Zaxary, special'na redakcija M. V. Kašuby, filosofs'ka redakcija V. M. Ničyk. *FD*, 1971, no. 4, pp. 92–102.

Chapter on "anima sensitiva" and "sensus" of the soul, and on "species impraessae" from Javors'kyj's course on psychology read at the Academy (CNB, ms.

DSP/152).

Cf. item 107 of this bibliography.

32. KAMENEVA, Tat"jana Nilovna. "Ornamentika i illjustracija černigovskix izdanij XVII–XVIII vv." *Kniga* (Moscow), 29 (1974): 171–81.

Elaborates on the techniques of Černihiv printers who achieved a high artistic level in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Černihiv printing press was founded by Lazar Baranovyč, once professor and rector of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

33. KAŠUBA, Marija. *Z istoriji borot'by proty Uniji XVII–XVIII st.* Kiev: ND, 1976. 171 pp.

An analysis of Heorhij Konys'kyj's lectures on general philosophy read in 1749–1751 at the Academy. Two copies of the manuscript survive, one in Kiev (CNB, šyfr. DA/P 51) and the other in Leningrad (GPB, f. St. Petersburg Theological Academy, no. 202).

34. ———. "Vitčyznjani etyčni včennja peršoji polovyny XVIII st.: Heorhij Konys'kyj." *FD*, 1979, no. 5, pp. 91–101.

Selected chapters on ethics from Konys'kyj's lectures on philosophy, translated from the original Latin manuscript (CNB, DA/P 51).

35. KLYMENTIJ ZYNOVIJIV. *Virši': Prypovisti pospolyti* I. Čepiha and Viktorija Kolosova, eds. Kiev: ND, 1971. 391 pp. (Pam"jatky ukrajins'koji movy XVII–XVIII st., Serija xudožn'oji literatury).

A collection of 370 proverbs in verse by the gifted poet-monk Klymentij Zynovijiv (d. after 1712). The Middle Ukrainian originals are critically edited by I. Čepiha, who together with Kolosova wrote the introductory essay. The historical and literary commentary is by Kolosova.

Rev. by John-Paul Himka in *UI* 10, no. 1–2 (1973): 152–53.

36. KOBIV, J. "Inokentij Hizel', 1600–1683." *Ukrajins'kyj kalendar 1983* (Warsaw: USKT, 1982), pp. 69–71.

Biography of Inokentij Gizel' and an account of his literary and scholarly activity.

37. KOMPAN, Olena. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Teofan Prokopovyč." *FD*, 1971, no. 1, pp. 97–98.

Introduction to item 71 of this bibliography.

38. KONONOVYČ-HORBAC'KYJ, Josyf. "Rozdil 9. Predykamenty [uryvok častyny maloji lohiky, abo dialektyky]." Pereklad z latyns'koji A. A. Korkiša, special'na redakcija M. V. Kašuby, filosofs'ka redakcija V. S. Lisovoho. *FD*, 1972, no. 1, pp. 92–101.

Excerpts from Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj's course on logic, "Subsidium logicae," read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy during 1642–1645/46. The translation is based on the manuscript at CNB, šyfr. 126/p. 1276.

Cf. item 76 of this bibliography.

39. ———. "Druhyj traktat [Pidručnyka z lohiky]." Pereklad z latyns'koji A. A. Korkiša, special'na i filosofs'ka redakcija M. D. Rohovyča. *FD*, 1972, no. 2, pp.

82–93.

Excerpt from the second tract on logic by Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj.

Cf. item 47 of this bibliography.

40. ______ "Orator Mohyljans'kyj, Marka Tulija Cicerona 'Podilamy (orators'kymy)' doskonalymy vyplekanyj." Pereklad z latyns'koji, special'na i filosofs'ka redakcija M. D. Rohovyča. *FD*, 1972, no. 3, pp. 89–99.

Translation of the first course on rhetoric read in 1635 by Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj, entitled "Orator Mohileanus." The original manuscript is in CNB, "Novi nadxodžennja 1969 roku, no. 80."

Cf. item 77 of this bibliography.

41. KOZYC'KYJ, Pylyp. *Spiv i muzyka v Kyjivs'kij akademiji za 300 rokiv jiji isnuvannja.* Kiev: Muzyčna Ukrajina, 1971. 148 pp.

This pioneering study on song and music taught at the Mohyla Academy was a dissertation presented at the Kiev Theological Academy in 1917. Subsequently the work was lost, and only in 1969, nine years after Kozyc'kyj's death (in 1960), was it recovered by O. Šrejer-Tkačenko, who edited the text, wrote an introductory essay (pp. 3–12), and supplied footnotes.

42. KREKOTEN', Volodymyr, and SULYMA, M, "'Maty mist rus'kyx,' bilja počatku poetyčnoho portretu." *RL*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 62–65.

Featured are writings on Kiev by Sakovyč, Mohyla, and Prokopovyč.

43. KREKOTEN', V. *Opovidannja Antonija Radyvylovs'koho: Z istoriji ukrajins'koji novelistyky XVII st.* Kiev: ND, 1983. 405 pp.

This monograph consists of two parts. Part one (pp. 11–206) includes an introductory essay on Ukrainian rhetorical prose of the second half of the 17th century as an object of literary study, and a second essay on Radyvylovs'kyj's literary sources and his use of them. Part two (pp. 207–383) includes oratory passages selected from Radyvylovs'kyj's works; these passages are divided into three parts: *casus, fabula, parabola.* A commentary and a glossary of old words and terms complete this exemplary study.

44. *Kyjivs'ka Rus': Kul'tura, tradyciji. Zbirnyk naukovyx prac'.* Jaroslav Isajevyč, ed. Kiev: ND, 1982. 152 pp.

This collection of 17 articles includes three that relate to the Mohyla Academy: Zaxara, I., "The history of Kievan Rus' in the evaluation of scholars of the Kiev Mohyla Academy" (pp. 89–92); Paslavs'kyj, I., "Kyrylo-Trankvilion Stavrovec'kyj and the philosophical traditions of Kievan Rus'" (pp. 92–103); Mycyk, Ju., "The history of Kievan Rus' in the work of the 17th-century Ukrainian chronicler Feodosij Safonovyč" (pp. 103–109).

45. *Kyjivs'ka starovyna: Ščoričnyk,* [1]. Petro Toločko, ed. Kiev: ND, 1972. 203 pp.

This volume is the first annual publication of Kiev's Standing Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; only this one number, however, has appeared. Two items are relevant: L. Ponomarenko's "Maps of Kiev from the 17th to the 19th century as a historical source" (pp. 62–69); and Maksym Berlyns'kyj's publication *History of the city of*

Kiev (pp. 74–202), written ca. 1800. Berlyns'kyj (1764–1848), an alumnus of the Kiev Mohyla Academy, wrote the first history of Kiev from the earliest times to 1798. Only in 1970 did L. Ponomarenko find Berlyns'kyj's unpublished manuscript (269 pp.), which was preserved in the archives of the St. Petersburg censorship bureau in Leningrad. The portion published here is the historical narrative, with interesting data concerning the Academy; the topographical description was to follow.

46. KYSIL', Svitlana. "Učast' vyxovanciv Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji u rozvytku osvity (druha polovyna XVII–počatok XVIII st.)." *UIŽ*, 1983, no. 2, pp. 88–94.

On the educational activity of alumni of the Kiev Mohyla Academy from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century.

47. LISOVYJ, V. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Josyf Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj." *FD*, 1972, no. 2, pp. 81–82.

Introduction to item 39 of this bibliography.

48. *Literaturna spadščyna Kyjivs'koji Rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI–XVIII st.* Oleksij Myšanyč, ed. Kiev: ND, 1981. 264 pp.

This volume contains 5 contributions directly connected with the Kiev Mohyla Academy: Kolosova, V., "Traditions of the literature of Kievan Rus' and Ukrainian poetry of the 16th–18th centuries" (pp. 83–100); Sulyma, M., "The theory of versification in the Ukraine in the 16th–18th centuries: An attempt at description and reconstruction" (pp. 101–117); Krekoten', V. "Kievan poetics from 1637" (pp. 118–54); Nalyvajko, D. "Kievan poetics of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century in the context of the European literary process" (pp. 155–95); Ivan'o, I. "The concept of aesthetics and literary creativity of Teofan Prokopovyč" (pp. 223–49).

Krekoten's article is of special interest. It includes a Ukrainian translation of the Latin original "Liber artis poeticae... Anno Domini 1637," which was composed by Andrij Starnovec'kyj under the guidance of M. Kotozvars'kyj and is the oldest extant textbook on poetics used in the Ukraine.

49. LYTVYNOV, Volodymyr. "Do istoriji Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji." *UIŽ*, 1971, no. 10, pp. 103–105.

The author concentrates on the question of when the Kiev Mohyla Collegium became the Academy. Contrary to Xyžnjak, who stated this occurred only 1701, Lytvynov quotes documentary evidence that the Kiev Mohyla School had the status of an academy from its very founding.

50. MAKSYMENKO, Fedir. *Kyrylyčni starodruky ukrajins'kyx drukaren', ščo zberihajut'sja u l'vivs'kyx zbirkax, 1574–1800: Zvedenyj kataloh.* Lviv: VŠ, 1975. 127 pp.

A bibliographic listing and union catalog of (1) 716 Cyrillic books printed in the Ukraine between 1584 and 1800, and (2) 66 Cyrillic books from the 15th and 16th centuries printed outside the Ukraine that are preserved in Lviv's collections. Appended are a bibliography and two name indexes, one of authors and the other of engravers.

Rev. by J. S. G. Simmons in *Rec* 6, no. 2 (1976):17–21; and by A. Sokolyszyn in *UK*, 1977, no. 1, pp. 20–21.

51. MASLJUK, Vitalij. "Teorija daktyličnoho hekzametra u vitčyznjanyx latynomovnyx poetykax XVII–peršoji polovyny XVIII st." *Inozemna filolohija* (Lviv), 55 (1979): 112–18.

Theories about the dactylic hexameter in Kiev textbooks of poetics.

52. ———. "Nevidomi bajky Mytrofana Dovhalevs'koho." *RL*, 1982, no. 7, pp. 68–69.

The first publication of two Latin and two Ukrainian versions of fables from Dovhalevs'kyj's "Lessons on Syntax" (original ms. held by the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art, inv. Rl Q–31).

53. MAXNOVEC', Leonid. *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Biohrafija*. Kiev: ND, 1972. 255 pp.

An excellent biography of Skovoroda based on many new documents discovered by the author.

Rev. by O. Hončar and M. Hončaruk in *RL*, 1973, no. 6, pp. 79–80; by P. Oxrimenko in *Prapor* (Xarkiv), 1973, no. 4, pp. 94–97; and by Richard Hantula in *Rec* 4, no. 1 (1973): 34–48.

54. MOJSJEJEVA, H. "Šljax jednosti: Značennja Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji v rozvytku literatur sxidnoslov"jans'kyx narodiv." *RL*, 1982, no. 5, pp. 63–66.

On the importance of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the development of East Slavic literatures.

55. NIČYK, Valerija. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Teofan Prokopovyč." *FD*, 1970, no. 4, pp. 94–96.

Introduction to item 68 of this bibliography.

56. ———. "Filosofs'ki poperednyky H. S. Skovorody v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Do 250–riččja vid dnja narodžennja H. S. Skovorody." *FD*, 1972, no. 2, pp. 46–59.

The author attempts to establish connections between the philosophy of Skovoroda and works by Prokopovyč and Konys'kyj.

57. ———. "Etyčni pohljady D. S. Tuptala." *FD*, 1973, no. 2, pp. 77–87.

Discussion of the ethical views of Dmytro Tuptalo (Demetrius of Rostov).

58. ———. "Izučenie sistemy Kopernika v Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii." *Filosofskie nauki* (Moscow), 1974, no. 1, pp. 115–25.

The article consists of two parts: (1) a study of the Copernican system as it was taught in the Kiev Mohyla Academy during the 17th and 18th centuries; (2) a Russian translation by M. Rohovyč of four chapters from Prokopovyč's Latin text on natural philosophy (pp. 119–25).

59. ———. "Vnesok dijačiv Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji akademiji v jednannja duxovnyx kul'tur rosijs'koho, ukrajins'koho i bilorus'koho narodiv." *FD*, 1974, no. 5, pp. 67–80.

A discussion of the efforts of Teofan Prokopovyč, Stefan Javors'kyj, and Havryjil Bužyns'kyj to unite the cultures of the East Slavic peoples.

60. ______. *Feofan Prokopovič.* Moscow: Mysl', 1977. 192 pp.

The author discusses three topics of Prokopovyč's philosophical theory: (1) the elements of pantheism and deism (pp. 17–87); (2) the rationalistic tendency in his theory of epistemology (pp. 88–190); (3) the theory of enlightened absolutism (pp. 131–73).

61. ______. *Iz istorii otečestvennoj filosofii konca XVII–načala XVIII v.* Kiev: ND, 1978. 296 pp.

The author studies various components of Kievan philosophy and concludes that apart from a scholastic basis, it contained elements of humanism, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. The work has an important bibliography, along with a list of philosophy textbooks discussed and an index of personal names.

62. ______. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji." *FD,* 1978, no. 6, pp. 80–90.

The author analyzes lectures on philosophy read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy: I. Gizel's "Opus totius philosophiae, anno 1645–1647" (CNB, šyfr. MAK/P 128); I. Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj's "Orator Mohileanus, anno 1639–1640" (CNB, šyfr. "Novi nadxodžennja 1969 roku," no. 9, p. 37); and J. Turobojs'kyj's "Agonii philosophici cursus secundus. De philosophia naturali, anno 1704" (CNB, šyfr. DS/P. 154).

63. ______. "Filosofija v Kyjivs'kij brac'kij školi." *FD,* 1982, no. 2, pp. 54–72.

On the status of philosophy at the Kiev Brotherhood School and its immediate successor, the Kiev Mohyla Academy. Illustrated with excerpts from two works by Kasijan Sakovyč translated from Polish. The first work was published in Cracow in 1625 and probably had the title "Problemata Aristotelis" (pp. 66–69); the second work, also published in Cracow in 1625, was entitled "Tract on the soul" (pp. 70–72).

64. *Očerki istorii školy i pedagogičeskoj mysli narodov SSSR: XVIII v.– pervaja polovina XIX v.* M. F. Šabaeva, ed. Moscow: Pedagogika, 1973. 605 pp.

Chapter 4 deals with schools and pedagogical thought in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, and Moldavia in the 18th and first half of the 19th century (pp. 387–462). The chapter on 18th-century Ukraine (pp. 389–98), written by M. Hrebenna and A. Tkačenko, includes a discussion of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

65. *Očerki po istorii moldavsko-russko-ukrainskix filosofskix svjazej (XVII–XX vv.).* L. B. Šteinman, ed. Kišinev: Štiinca, 1977. 183 pp.

The first three articles of this collection are devoted to the Kiev Mohyla Academy: Ničyk, V. "From the history of Moldavian-Ukrainian cultural ties in the first half of the 17th century" (pp. 6–16); Ursul, D., "Moldavian-Russian-Ukrainian scholarly and philosophical ties in the second half of the 17th century" (pp. 17–34); Babij, A. "The development of Moldavian-Russian-Ukrainian philosophical ties in the 18th century" (pp. 35–57).

66. PASLAVS'KYJ, Ivan. "Problema universalij v 'Lohici' I. Krokovs'koho." *FD,* 1973, no. 5, pp. 60–65.

A discussion of the universals in Joasaf Krokovs'kyj's (d. 1718) philosophical course "Disputations in logic" read at the Kiev Academy in 1686–1687. The original manuscript is in CNB, šyfr. 617/393.

67. ______. "Krytyka metafizyky tomizmu v naturfilosofiji J. Krokovs'koho." *FD*, 1976, no. 5, pp. 94–107.

Critique of tomistic metaphysics as presented in Krokovs'kyj's lectures on natural philosophy read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in 1686–1687. Some excerpts of the lectures are translated from the original Latin manuscript (CNB, šyfr. 617/393).

68. PROKOPOVYČ, Teofan. "Fizyka, knyžka četverta...." Pereklad z latyns'koji Ja. M. Hajdukevyča, special'na filosofs'ka redakcija i pojasnennja I. S. Zaxary i V. V. Kondz'olky. *FD*, 1970, no. 4, pp. 97–106.

Ukrainian translation of chapter 4 of Prokopovyč's lectures on physics read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in 1708–1709. The entire course, which Prokopovyč wrote in Latin, has approximately 500 pages and remains unpublished. The original manuscript is in CNB, DA/p. 43.

Cf. item 55 of this bibliography.

69. ______. "Dvi perši i najholovniši osnovy matematyky, aryfmetyka i heometrija, na koryst' ukrajins'koji students'koji molodi, vykladeni v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji v rokax Božyx 1707–1708." Pereklad z latyns'koji Iu. F. Mušaka, matematyčna redakcija ta pojasnennja O. A. Sičkar. *FD*, 1970, no. 5, pp. 100–110.

Three excerpts from Prokopovyč's lectures on arithmetic and geometry read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The translations from Latin into Ukrainian are based on the manuscript in CNB, D-A/P 485.

Cf. item 82 of this bibliography.

70. ______. "Pro rytoryčne mystectvo knyh X. . . ." Pereklad Iu. F. Mušaka, filosofs'ka redakcija I. V. Ivanja, pojasnennja M. D. Rohovyča. *FD*, 1970, no. 6, pp. 92–101.

Introductory chapter on rhetoric from Prokopovyč's lectures on the subject read at the Kiev Academy in 1706. The translation is from Latin into Ukrainian.

Cf. item 25 of this bibliography.

71. ______. "Pro rytoryčne mystectvo . . . ." Pereklad z latyns'koji I. V. Paslavs'koho, special'na redakcija V. P. Masljuka ta I. I. Andrijčuka, prymitky M. D. Rohovyča. *FD*, 1971, no. 1, pp. 99–109.

The first six chapters of book 6, entitled "On the method of writing history and about letters," from Prokopovyč's lectures on rhetoric read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in 1708–1709.

Cf. item 37 of this bibliography.

72. ______. *Filosofs'ki tvory: V tr'ox tomax.* Pereklad z latyns'koji. V. Šynkaruk, V. Jevdokymenko, V. Ničyk et al., eds. 3 vols. Kiev: ND, 1979–1981. 511, 550, 523 pp.

Following the example of the Institute of Russian literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, which in 1961 published under the editorship of Ihor Jerjomin (Eremin) a volume of selected works of T. Prokopovyč (among them his school drama *Vladimir* of 1705 and the treatise *De Arte poetica* of the same year, in the Latin original and in Russian translation), the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has published Prokopovyč's philosophical works in Ukrainian translation without the Latin originals.

Vol. 1 consists of the translation of Prokopovyč's *De arte rhetorica*, a textbook dating from 1706, and various sententiae. Vol. 2 contains the courses "On logic" (1707–1709), "On natural philosophy" (1708–1709), and "On ethics" (1708). Vol. 3 includes Prokopovyč's course *Fontes Arithmeticae et Geometriae*, dating from 1707–1708, and the following important additions: (a) 111 letters written by Prokopovyč (pp. 189–309), including letters to the memoirist Jakiv Markovyč (1696–1770) and the Ukrainian hetman Danylo Apostol (1654–1734); (b) historical and geneaological studies (pp. 311–42); (c) poetic works (pp. 345–58), among them his "Praise of the Dnieper" (pp. 345–46); (d) a biography of Prokopovyč, written probably by Gotlieb-Theophitus Siegfrid Beier (pp. 361–72); (e) a catalogue of Prokopovyč's library (pp. 373–442); (f) a bibliography of Prokopovyč's works (pp. 443–50); (g) a name index to all three volumes (pp. 499–520). *De arte rhetorica* was translated from the manuscript in the CNB Manuscript Division, DA/P 418; the courses translated in vols. 2 and 3 are from the same collection, DA/P 430. Each philosophical tract and some other works include commentaries by the following specialists: I. Andrijčuk, V. Kondz'olka, F. Luc'ka, V. Lytvynov, V. Masljuk, V. Ničyk, M. Rohovyč, and I. Zaxara.

It is a pity that Prokopovyč's Latin originals are not included. Also, the authorship of Prokopovyč has not been established beyond doubt. See the remarks by James Cracraft in *HUS* 5, no. 2 (1981):272–74.

Rev. by M. Zakaljužnyj in *Žovten'* (Lviv), 1981, no. 10, pp. 150–52, and by V. Zoc in *Dnipro* (Kiev), 1981, no. 7, pp. 157. Rev. of vol. 1 only by James Cracraft in *HUS* 5, no. 2 (1981):272–74.

73. ROHOVYČ, Myroslav. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Inokentij Hizel'." *FD*, 1970, no. 1, pp. 100–101.

Introduction to item 16 of this bibliography.

74. ______, and NIČYK, V. "Žyttjepys Teofana Prokopovyča." Pereklad z latyns'koji ta pojasnennja M. D. Rohovyča, filosofs'ka redakcija V. M. Ničyk. *FD*, 1970, no. 3, pp. 94–107.

Ukrainian translation of a Latin biography of Prokopovyč probably written by Gotlieb-Theophitus Siegfrid Beier (1694–1738). The biography was discovered in the Moscow Synodal Library by J. B. Scherer in 1769 and later published by him in *Nordische Nebenstunden* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1776), pp. 251–70.

Cf. item 7 of this bibliography.

75. ______. "Problema znaka v lohici Xrystofora Čarnuc'koho ta Manujla Kozačyns'koho." *Movoznavstvo* (Kiev), 1971, no. 5, pp. 46–55.

Linguistic symbols in the logical equations of two professors of the Kiev Mohyla Academy: Xrystofor Čarnuc'kyj (taught 1702–1707) and Myxajil Kozačyns'kyj (taught 1739–1746).

76. ______. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Josyf Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj." *FD*, 1972, no. 1, pp. 90–92.

Introduction to item 38 of this bibliography.

77. ______. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji; Josyf Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj." *FD*, 1972, no. 3, pp. 86–89.

Introduction to item 40 of this bibliography.

78. ——, and KYRYK, D. "Filosofija Aristotelja na Ukrajini (XIV–perša polovyna XVIII st.)." *FD*, 1978, no. 6, pp. 91–102.

The authors survey the knowledge of Aristotle in the Ukraine, beginning with the *Svjatoslav's Miscellanies* of 1073 and 1076. They analyze the writings of 14th- to 16th-century authors, and present interpretations by scholars at the Kiev Mohyla Academy, especially I. Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj, S. Kosov, J. Krokovs'kyj, T. Prokopovyč, S. Kuljabka, M. Kozačyns'kyj, and H. Konys'kyj.

79. ŠEVČENKO, Fedir. "Rol' Kyjivs'koji akademiji v kul'turnyx zv"jazkax Ukrajiny z balkans'kymy krajinamy u XVIII st." *IstDos*, 1982, no. 8, pp. 107–113.

On the presence of Orthodox students and teachers from the Balkans at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the 18th century.

80. ŠEVČUK, Valerij. "Feofan Prokopovyč u Kyjevi." *UMLŠ*, 1981, no. 6, pp. 22–28.

On Prokopovyč as a student and professor of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

81. ——. "Nevidomi virši z kyjivs'kyx rukopysiv XVIII st." *RL*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 65–73.

Publication of several little-known poetical works by 18th-century Ukrainian writers, some of whom studied at the Kiev Mohyla Academy: R. Myronovyč, K. Kondratovyč, I. Fal'kivs'kyj, M. Sokolovs'kyj, P. Javolenko, and N [?]. Zubryc'kyj. The original manuscripts are in the CNB Manuscript Division.

82. SIČKAR, O. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Teofan Prokopovyč." *FD*, 1970, no. 5, pp. 98–100.

Introduction to item 69 of this bibliography.

83. *Simeon Polockij i ego knigoizdatel'skaja dejatel'nost'*. A. N. Robinson, ed. Moscow: Nauka, 1982. 352 pp. (Russkaja staropečatnaja literatura, XVI–pervaja četvert' XVIII v., vol. 3)

Collection of twelve studies dealing with the literary creativity of Symon Poloc'kyj. Appended are indexes of personal names, literary works, and place-names.

84. SKOVORODA, Hryhorij. *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*. 2 vols. Kiev: ND, 1973. 531, 574 pp.

Edited by six Kiev scholars and students of philosophy and literature: Volodymyr Šynkaruk (chairman), V. Jevdokymenko, L. Maxnovec', I. Ivan'o, V. Ničyk, and I. Tabačnykov. This is a new edition of the two-volume collection of Skovoroda's works published in 1961. The present edition introduces two new elements. First, the 1961 edition published Skovoroda's works according to genre, but the 1973 edition arranges his works chronologically. Second, one of the editors (I. Tabačnykov) discovered in the Lenin Library two hitherto unknown works by Skovoroda: "Beseda 1-ja, narečennaja Observatorium (Sion)" and "Beseda 2-ja, narečennaja specula (evrejskij Sion)." They appear in this edition for the first time. The volumes contain commentaries; vol. 2 includes letters to and from Skovoroda and an index to both volumes.

85. ŠOLOM, F., and ČEPIHA, I. "Proizvedenija Joannikija Galjatovskogo na pol'skom jazyke." *TODRL* 25 (1970): 321–24.

The authors deal with nine of Galjatovs'kyj's works written in Polish: *Messiasz* (1672), *Rożmowa białocerkiewska* (1676), *Stary Kóściół* (1676), *Skarb pochwały* (1676), *Łabędź* (1679), *Alphabetum* (1681), *Alkoran* (1683), *Fundamenta* (1683), *Sophia mądrość* (1686).

86. STECJUK, Kateryna. "Kyjiv—centr osvity i nauky na Ukrajini v XVII st." *UIŽ*, 1970, no. 11, pp. 59–68.

Detailed analysis of the level of instruction and the administrative organization of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

87. STEPOVYK, Dmytro. *Oleksandr Tarasevyč*. Kiev: Mystectvo, 1975. 135 pp.

A richly illustrated study of the work of Kiev's leading engraver, Oleksandr Tarasevyč (ca. 1650–1727). Special emphasis is on Tarasevyč's role in establishing contacts with Western Europe; he himself studied in Germany and worked in Belorussia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine.

88. ______. "Kyjivs'ka škola rysunku j žyvopysu XVIII st. ta jiji mižnarodni zv"jazky." *NTE*, 1980, no. 4, pp. 52–60.

The author establishes the existence of an influential school of drawing and painting at the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

89. STRATIJ, Jaroslava. "I. Hizel' pro spivvidnošennja pryrody i mystectva." *FD*, 1976, no. 2, pp. 96–106.

A translation of chapters on the relation between nature and art from Gizel's "Opus totius philosophiae" (CNB šyfr. MAK/P127), read at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in 1645–1646.

90. ______. "Problema času u filosofs'kyx kursax Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji i Slov"jano-hreko-latyns'koji akademij." *FD*, 1977, no. 2, pp. 87–100.

A study of time and duration in parts of Gizel's "Opus totius philosophiae" (CNB, šyfr. MAK/P 127) and in an anonymous course on philosophy, "Philosophia naturalis seu tractatus in octo libros de Phisica Aristotelis...anno 1684" (BIL, šyfr. In 2131, fund. 288), with excerpts in Ukrainian translation.

91. ______. "Včennja pro pryčyny ruxu u filosofs'kyx kursax Kyjevo-Mohyljans'koji ta Slov"jano-hreko-latyns'koji akademiji XVII st." *FD*, 1979, no. 5, pp. 79–91.

On impulse and impetus as discussed in I. Gizel's "Opus totius philosophiae" (CNB, šyfr. Mel, M/P 128, previously šyfr. MAK/P 127) and in the anonymous course on philosophy "Philosophia naturalis seu tractatus in octo libros de Phisica Aristotelis... anno 1684" (BIL, šyfr. In. 2131, f. 288).

92. ______. *Problemy naturfilosofii v filosofskoj mysli Ukrainy XVII v.* Kiev: ND, 1981. 207 pp.

The book consists of two parts: (1) an account of the study of natural philosophy at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the 17th century (pp. 3–144); and (2) a translation into Russian of Gizel's chapters on natural philosophy from his course "Opus totius philosohiae" read at the Academy in 1645–1647 (pp. 145–96).

93. ______, LYTVYNOV, Volodymyr, and ANDRUŠKO, Viktor. *Opisanie kursov filosofii i*

ritoriki professorov Kievo-Mogiljanskoj akademii. Kiev: ND, 1982. 345 pp.

This book consists of descriptions of extant manuscripts of courses on rhetoric and philosophy taught at the Kiev Mohyla Academy during 1635–1817: rhetoric—183 manuscripts (pp. 11–151), and philosophy—182 manuscripts (pp. 152–340). Appended is an index of personal names.

94. TABAČNYKOV, Ivan. *Grigorij Skovoroda.* Moscow: Mysl', 1972. 205 pp.

A biographical account of the life of Skovoroda and a presentation of his philosophical and sociological ideas.

95. *Tematika i stilistika predislovij i posleslovij.* A. S. Dëmin, ed. Moscow: Nauka, 1981. 303 pp. (Russkaja staropečatnaja literatura, XVI–pervaja četvert' XVIII v., vol. [1]).

This collection of 11 articles and 2 appendixes analyzes forewords and afterwords in old printed books of the 16th to the 18th century. Relevant articles are: L. A. Itigina, "Forewords in Belorussian old printed books of the 16th to first half of the 17th century: Enlightenment tendencies" (pp. 27–44); L. A. Sofronova, "Polish forewords in old publications of the 16th to the 17th century: Literary and philological functions" (pp. 100–128); L. J. Sazonova, "Forewords in Ukrainian old printed books from the end of the 16th to the first half of the 17th century: The struggle for national unity" (pp. 129–52), and "Forewords in Ukrainian old printed books from the end of the 16th to the first half of the 17th century: The specificity of literary forms" (pp. 153–87); and A. S. Kurilov, "Forewords and afterwords in East Slavic old printed books of the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century: The emergence of national [Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian] philological thought" (pp. 204–221).

96. *U istokv obščnosti filosofskix kul'tur russkogo, ukrainskogo i bolgarskogo narodov: Sbornik naučnyx trudov.* Vilen Hors'kyj, ed. Kiev: ND, 1983. 167 pp.

Five of the 11 articles in this collection deal with scholarship at the Kiev Mohyla Academy: Andruško, V. A., "*Areopagitiki* in Ukrainian culture of the 15th to the 18th century" (pp. 67–78); Ničyk, V. M., "The Kiev Mohyla Academy and Bulgarian culture" (pp. 79–103); Stratij, Ja. M., "Concepts of natural science in Old Rus' and Bulgaria and their place in the history of Ukrainian natural philosophy" (pp. 103–127); Kašuba, M. V., "Instruction on the 'autocracy' of man in the *Šestodnev* by John, exarch of Bulgaria, and its tradition at the Kiev Mohyla Academy" (pp. 127–37); Lytvynov, V. D., "George Choeroboscus's tract *O obrazex*" and rhetorical tradition at the Kiev Mohyla Academy (pp. 137–54). Appended to Lytvynov's article is his Russian translation of *On tropes and figures of speech* (pp. 155–57). A name and subject index are appended.

97. *Ukrajins'ka poezija: Kinec' XVI–počatok XVII st.* Viktorija Kolosova and Volodymyr Krekoten', comps., and Vasyl' Mykytas', ed. Kiev: ND, 1978. 431 pp. (Pam"jatky davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury).

An exemplary anthology of Middle Ukrainian poetry, with two introductory essays—a general one by Krekoten' and a specialized one (on a manuscript including polemical poetry from the 1580s and 1590s) by Kolosova. The texts are carefully edited and contain many illustrations reproduced from the original manuscripts and old printed books, as well as annotations, a glossary, and index. Included are works by the following authors: several anonymous authors including polemicists represented in two manuscripts of the 1580s and 1590s (Kievan St. Michael

collection and the collection of the Volhynian monastery in Volycja Zahorovs'ka); Davyd Andrijevyč, Pamvo Berynda, Stepan Berynda, Avraam Biloborods'kyj, Pavlo Domžyv-Ljutkovyč, Havryjil Dorofijevyč, Xrystofor Filalet, Leontij Mamonyč, Mykyta Meleško, Andrij Mužylovs'kyj from Sluc'k, Oleksandr Mytura, Damian Nalyvajko, Jan Kazymyr Paškevyč, Andrij Rymša, Kasijan Sakovyč, Afanasij Selec'kyj, Meletij Smotryc'kyj, Spyrydon Sobol', Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj, Vitalij, Tarasij Zemka, Lavrentij Zyzanij, Stefan Zyzanij, Jan Žoravnyc'kyj.

Rev. by Natalia Pylypiuk in *Rec* 9 (1978–79):32–50; by Bohdan Romanenchuk in *UK*, 1979, no. 1, pp. 23–24; and by Frank E. Sysyn in *Kritika* (Cambridge, Mass.), 16, no. 1 (Winter 1980):24–40.

98. *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoj pečati XVI–XVIII vv.: Katalog izdanij xranjaščixsja v Gosudarstvennoj biblioteke SSSR* imeni V. I. Lenina. Moscow: Gos. Biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Otdel redkix knig. Vypusk I: *1574 g.–I polovina XVII v.* T. N. Kameneva and A. A. Guseva, comps. 1976. 448 pp. (pp. 5–70 text; pp. 71–447 plates). Vypusk II, tom 1: *Kievskie izdanija 2-j poloviny XVII v.*. A. A. Guseva, T. N. Kameneva, and I. M. Polonskaja, comps. 1981. 322 pp. (3–75 text; 77–322 plates).

These are the first two issues of a printed catalog of Ukrainian imprints from 1574 to 1800 held by the Rare Book department of the Lenin Library in Moscow. Issue 1 covers Ukrainian imprints from 1574 through the first half of the 17th century; issue 2, vol. 1 includes publications produced by the printing press at the Kiev Monastery of the Caves during the second half of the 17th century.

The catalog consists of the following sections: detailed bibliographic description (95 books in issue 1 and 82 books in issue 2, vol. 1); an appendix of illustrations including reproductions of portraits, head pieces, tail pieces, borders, coats-of-arms and printers' marks (820 illustrations in issue 1 and 322 in issue 2, vol. 1); name, title, iconographic and engraved plate indexes, and a printing press index for issue 1; bibliography. Unfortunately, the catalog is printed on paper of very poor quality.

Pt. 1 rev. by A. Sokolyszyn in *UK*, 1979, no. 4, pp. 123–24.

99. VELYČKOVS'KYJ, Ivan. *Tvory.* Leonid Maxnovec', ed. Kiev: ND, 1972. 191 pp.

S. Maslov, V. Kolosova, and V. Krekoten collaborated in the publication of this valuable volume of collected works (with commentaries) by one of the greatest Ukrainian baroque poets, Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, who studied at the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

100. *Vid Vyšens'koho do Skovorody: Z istoriji filosofs'koji dumky na Ukrajini XVI–XVIII st.* Valerija Ničyk, ed. Kiev: ND, 1972. 142 pp.

Fifteen scholars, all engaged in preparing the first volume of a planned three-volume history of Ukrainian philosophy, deal here with topics from the 16th to the 18th century: Pašuk, A. "Ivan Vyšens'kyj's social ideals" (pp. 8–24); Isajevyč, Ja. "Lectures on philosophy in the Ukraine (16th-18th century)" (pp. 24–35); Podokšin, S. and M. Rohovyč, "On the sources of higher learning" (pp. 35–47); Sotnyčenko, P., "The library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy: Philosophical sources" (pp. 47–54); Ničyk, V. "Concerning the scholasticism of philosophical textbooks at the Kiev Mohyla Academy" (pp. 54–74); Korkiško, A., "On the philosophical aspects of Josyf Kononovyč-Horbac'kyj's course on logic" (pp. 74–81); Kondz'olka, V., "Elements of materialistic sensualism in Inokentij Gizel's tract 'Psychology'" (pp. 81–88); Zaxara, I., "The textbook on psychology by Stefan Javors'kyj" (pp. 88–96); Kašuba, M., "The treatment of matter by Heorhij Konys'kyj" (pp.

96–102); Lytvynov, V. "On some features of humanism and the Enlightenment in Ukrainian philosophy at the beginning of the 18th century: Teofan Prokopovyč" (pp. 103–109); Markov, A., "The interrelationship between the spiritual and the material in the philosophy of H. Skovoroda" (pp. 109–116); Kyryk, D., "The world of symbols in Skovoroda's *oeuvre*" (pp. 116–25); Ivan'o, I., "The ethics of Skovoroda and the philosophy of Epicurus" (pp. 125–34); Tabačnykov, I., "Skovoroda and Socrates" (pp. 134–42).

Rev. by M. Il'nyc'kyj in *Žovten'* (Lviv), 1972, no. 11, pp. 144–48; by I. Ja. Matkovskaja in *Voprosy filosofii* (Moscow), 1974, no. 2, pp. 177–78; by Taras D. Zakydalsky in *Rec* 7, no. 1 (1976): 50–59.

Note by Darija Sijak in *UI* 9, no. 3–4 (1972): 147–48.

101. VYHODOVANEC', N. "Lazar' Baranovič—ukrainskij pisatel' vtoroj poloviny XVII v." Avtoreferat diss. kand. filol. nauk. Lviv: Un-t, 1971. 24 pp.

102. XYŽNJAK, Zoja. *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija.* First edition. Kiev: Un-t, 1970. 171 pp. Second edition. Kiev: VŠ, 1981. 234 pp.

This is the only Soviet monograph dealing in its entirety with the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The second edition appeared in connection with the so-called 1,500th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Kiev.

Both editions contain three chapters. The first chapter deals with higher learning in the Ukraine at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. Chapter two is devoted to the Mohyla Academy as the center of higher learning in the Ukraine and deals with its administrative structure, curriculum, and student life. Chapter three concerns the cultural ties of the Mohyla Academy with other Slavic peoples, especially Russia and the Balkan countries.

In general, the work presents a fair view of the structure and cultural role of the Kiev Mohyla Academy; however, in the second edition the second half of the 17th century is treated summarily in comparison with the post-Poltava, 18th-century period, when Ukrainian autonomy was curtailed and Russification intensified. The recent Soviet imperial doctrine is reflected in the second edition's terminological usage, especially in the replacement of the term "Ukrainian" by the adjective *vitčyznjanyj* ("pertaining to the Fatherland").

The second edition has a more extensive list of bibliographic citations, but both editions conspicuously omit Western publications. Both editions are illustrated. Neither edition has an index or a list of illustrations; except for the notes accompanying each chapter, neither edition has a bibliography.

First edition rev. by M. Marčenko and H. Sorhaj in *UIŽ*, 1972, no. 1, pp. 143–44; and by Alexander Baran in *UI* 8, no. 3–4 (1971): 112–13. Second edition rev. by V. Ničyk in *FD*, 1982, no. 5, pp. 126–28, and V. Smolij in *UIŽ*, 1982, no. 9, pp. 137–39.

103. ______. "Kyjivs'ka akademija—peršyj vyščyj učbovyj zaklad na Ukrajini." *UIŽ*, 1971, no. 1, pp. 44–52.

General evaluation of the Kiev Mohyla Academy as the first institution of higher learning in the Ukraine.

104. ZAPASKO, Jakym, and ISAJEVYČ, Jaroslav. *Pam'jatky knyžkovoho mystectva: Kataloh starodrukiv vydanyx na Ukrajini. Knyha perša, 1574–1700.* Lviv: VŠ, 1981. 136 pp.

A richly illustrated and well-edited catalogue of old Ukrainian imprints published in the Ukraine (in Cyrillic and Roman type) between 1574 and 1700. The bibliographic descriptions include special features: shortened title; information about printers, engravers, and printing history (where available); description of contents or subject; information about extant copies and their locations (in the Ukraine, Soviet Union, and Poland only); references to bibliographic descriptions in published sources; citations to reproductions and later reprintings. The illustrations consist of reproductions of title pages, single pages of text and engravings from the old printed books, some in color. Included also are a bibliography, list of locations (libraries, museums, archives), list of printing presses and press owners and workers; five indexes—of names, titles, subjects, printing presses, and engravers. This volume is the first of a planned two-volume work; the second volume is to cover Ukrainian imprints from 1701 to 1800.

Rev. by Andrew Turchyn in *UK*, 1982, no. 3–4; pp. 92–93.

105. ZAXARA, Ihor. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Stefan Javors'kyj." *FD*, 1971, no. 2, pp. 98–100.

Introduction to item 29 of this bibliography.

106. ——, and LYTVYNOV, V. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Stefan Javors'kyj." *FD*, 1971, no. 3, pp. 95–98.

Introduction to item 30 of this bibliography.

107. ——. "Filosofija v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Stefan Javors'kyj." *FD*, 1971, no. 4, pp. 90–91.

Introduction to item 31 of this bibliography.

108. ——. *Bor'ba· idei v filosofskoj mysli na Ukraine na rubeže XVII–XVIII vv.: Stefan Javorskij.* Kiev: ND, 1982. 159 pp.

Study of the development of philosophy as an independent discipline in Kiev (both at the Brotherhood School and at the Mohyla Academy). The author characterizes the philosophy of Javors'kyj (especially his work "Agonium philosophicum in arena Gymnadis Mohilaeanae Kijoviensis...") as a reflection of the struggle between Scholasticism and the early Enlightenment.

Harvard University

INDEXES[1]

16th-, 17th-, and 18th-Century Authors and Historical Persons

[1] Numbers refer to items of the bibliography.

Modern Authors, Compilers, Editors, Translators, and Reviewers

The Harvard Exhibition commemorating the Kiev Mohyla Academy

The anniversary of the founding of the Kiev Mohyla Academy was commemorated by a major book exhibition held in the lobby of Widener Library of Harvard University from 20 December 1982 to 18 January 1983. The exhibition, entitled "The 350th Anniversary of the Kiev Mohyla Academy," was prepared by Oksana Procyk, Ukrainian specialist in the Harvard College Library, and Leonid Heretz, history student at Harvard, and consisted of over 120 items from Harvard's Ukrainian collections. These items, including twelve Ukrainian old printed books, one original manuscript, and two seventeenth-century maps and one eighteenth-century map of the Ukraine, were contributed by the Widener, Houghton, Fine Arts, Music, and Law School libraries and the Harvard Map Collection. The exhibition was organized thematically and chronologically, documenting the cultural development of Kiev and the Ukraine over the two centuries of the Academy's existence and illustrating the role of the Academy and its graduates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmanate, and the Russian Empire. Photographs of Kiev and the Academy and portraits of the school's most prominent activists and graduates were displayed along with original imprints and later reprintings of their works. These included religious and ideological tracts such as several early editions of Peter Mohyla's *Orthodox Confession*, Stefan Javors'kyj's *Kamin' viry* (Kiev, 1730), Teofan Prokopovyč's *Tractatus de Processione Spiritus Sancti* (Gothae, 1772): the poetry of Ioan Maksymovyč, *Alfavyt* (Černihiv, 1705) and *Featron* (Černihiv, 1708); and early historiographic works such as Inokentij Gizel's *Synopsys* (Kiev, 1674) and the Cossack chronicles. Also displayed were several texts used in the Academy, including Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatyka* (Moscow, 1648) and Pamvo Berynda's *Leksykon* (Kuteino, 1653), as well as the most important nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarly works on the Academy. Due to public interest, the exhibition was repeated in July 1983. A catalogue of the exhibition is currently being prepared for publication.

EUCHARISTERION. ALBO, VDJAČNOST'.

A Facsimile

The following pages contain a facsimile—the first ever to be made—of the *Eucharisterion*. This text, discussed at various lengths in two articles in the present fascicule, was issued by the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves (*Lavra*) on 29 March 1632. Our facsimile is slightly reduced (original dimensions of the frame of the title page: 18 × 14 cm.; original dimensions of the printed surface in the text: 17 × 13 cm.). The pamphlet consists of four and a half gatherings of four folia or eight pages each; thus it amounts to 36 pages. It lacks pagination but exhibits quire marks. There are no initials in red.

The *Eucharisterion* is comparatively rare. S. Golubev (*Universitetskie izvestija* of Kiev University, 1888, no. 4, p. 69) knew of only two copies of it, kept in St. Petersburg and Kiev, respectively. Today, four copies are known: They are preserved in the Saltykov-Ščedrin Library of Leningrad; in the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; in the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (which it presumably entered from the Library of the Theological Academy of Kiev, the successor to the Kiev Mohyla Academy); and in the Public Library of the city of Warsaw.

Our facsimile is reproduced from the microfilm of a complete copy that once belonged to the library of the Kiev Theological Academy. To our regret, we could not use the excellent photographs from Warsaw, the Warsaw copy being defective. We are grateful to the library of the University of Alberta for providing us with the microfilm in their hands, and to Natalia Pylypiuk and Oleh Ilnytzkyj for locating the microfilm and transporting it to Cambridge.

For the two best bibliological descriptions of the *Eucharisterion*, cf. Xv. Titov, *Materialy dlja istorii knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI–XVIII v.v. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv* (Kiev, 1924); and Ja. Zapasko and Ja. Isajevyč, *Pam''jatky knyžkovoho mys-*

tectva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanyx na Ukrajini. Knyha perša (1574–1700) (Lviv, 1981), no. 228, = p. 220 (based presumably on the very Kiev copy reproduced in our facsimile).

Ihor Ševčenko

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Албо,

Вдячность.

Ясне Превелебнѣйшому в Хрⷭ҇тѣ Єго Млⷭ҇ти
Гдⷭ҇ну Оⷮцу Кѵр Петру Могилѣ, Воеводичу Земль
Молдавских, Великому Архимандритови Стой
Великой Лавры Чудотворной Печерской Кіевской,
Вѣры Православной в Церкви Стой Всходной:
Промоторови Побожному, и несмертелной Славы
Годному Оборонцы.

Ѿ

Студентов Гумнасіум в Мнⷭ҇ры з Школы Реторики,
За тоеных Добродѣйства, собѣ и Цркви Православной,
в фундованю Школ показаных. При вѣншованю свят
хвалебных Воскресенія Хрⷭ҇та спасителя міру, покорне
отдана.

В друкарни тогож Монастыра Печ: К:
Року, ахлв. Мца. Марта. кд, дня.

СТЕММА
ЯСНЕВЕЛМОЖНЫХЪ МОГИЛОВЪ.

П |  | М
В | | М
Л | | К
Л | | П

Отколе: тоей высокой надеръ высвятнєсти,
Гды на Гербъ цныхъ МОГИЛОВЪ КОРОНЫ вкладаетъ,
Нетолко того свѣта знаменъ владзы Монарховъ,
Але тежъ и Духовныхъ в своихъ Єрарховъ:
Поглядаю (Богу годно) правдѣ и томъ КЛЕЙНОТѢ,
Притой якось служилъ имъ тяжко святой цнотѣ.
В неи жесь негды сротїи знойсилъ Громы носити,
Теперъ ся оутѣсть в любивости часъ ижъ Анѳїмїи.
Отмѣтъ тыхъ Предцныхъ МОГИЛОВЪ КОРОНЫ.
Бо тое знакомъ всей Церкви естъ знаменитъ обороны.

Пре-

Превелебнѣйшїй Млтивый Гдне Ѿче.

Пастырꙋ, Патроне, и Фꙋндатре нашъ.

Кроль Вафалѣнскїй, Ясне велможный Млтивый Ѿче, в злытан быль положилъ, чашокъ певныхъ свѣчъ запаленꙋю Пѣданымъ своимъ высылати, на знакъ того, абы горячо мати своей кꙋ Онымъ выконтерфектовати моглъ. Кролевна Наша, щирѣра Православно Кадолическая, Превелебный Патроне, до того часꙋ барзо неплодная (для великихъ набалностей и штурмовъ, ѿ выродковъ Соборной Цркви Свѧтой нашей) урѡдивши за ласкою и промысломъ Твоимъ не мало гроно в Православной Наꙋцѣ Православныхъ Сыновъ, которыи по Намѧтнѣ твоей щодробливости по Палацꙋ твоемꙋ стадали по усприємности тачїи кꙋ Наꙋкамъ згадливости зобравшися, що бы за сꙋквꙋлꙋ своє кꙋ тобѣ прихильности выставити мѣли, неведаютъ. Зышлобыкъ я правдѣ яко Панꙋ Злото, якъ ты з Злотнѣй покролꙋ себе ѡной ѿдалъ. ѿ неслыханой в Россїи щодробливости! Зышлобыкъ яко ѿ Кролевой дорогое Камѣнье: але ты Каменемъ нешлифованы в Цнотахъ и Побожности бꙋдꙋчи, зъ каменемъ дорогое Сыновъ ... розꙋмѣвшимъ, твердѣйшимъ и голосѣйшимъ. Я самъ (с... людей в Бачи и розꙋмꙋ не убогихъ) такимъ бꙋдꙋчи ...

Золото межи Крушцами, якъ Діаментъ межи Каменьемъ
похвалнѣйшъ Навѣсъ з милости Ея Царей Цѣлитъ своей за такъ-
же дорожишъ быти. Которую то Церковь Православную землею
або якъ неколись ἄτλας τὸν οὐρανὸν упередзато двигати и
посилковати рачишъ. О занятье Золотомъ естесь, гды
золотомъ погорждаешъ, а Православно Каѳолическую Науку
любишъ. Естесь и Діамантомъ гды пересходы и клопоты
за школы терпливе зносишъ: Естесь и свѣтъ Атлантовыхъ,
гды ся такъ тяжкихъ трудахъ и працахъ оуставати не хочешь.
а поневажъ сталъ ся оной перводной слава Превеликой Фамиліи
ЯСНЕВЕЛМОЖ: МОГИЛОВъ, которой з дѣдичныхъ
двухъ Столицъ Молдавской и Волоской Ангелы свои видятъ,
и Царскихъ твоихъ працъ которыхъ есь напротивъ [illegible] Отоманской
Церкви подъимовалъ, и доброволное з [illegible] свѣтъ тако-
торого подъ ноги подославши за Богомъ ся [illegible] Хлопъ зуделалъ,
а при той засъ Славѣ обоихъ сталъ Гу [illegible] оукшиковании,
Оная Людскость, Побожность, оная [illegible], оная до
наймнѣйшого склонность, згола на [illegible] бане Шлахетъ
оумыслила престо ВЕЛМОЖНый нашъ Д [illegible] ГОРУ тобѣ
выставити. ГОРУ, мовлю, ПАРНАСу и ГЕЛИКОНУ,
на которыхъ абысь весь свѣтъ малый могъ твоей Славы, и
телесными и душевными окомъ, дохитати не Недавно, притом
такъ зацной славѣ на Горѣ вдячности от насъ поставленой
быти. Бо слава высоко летаючи выш [illegible] сѣдаетъ, притом
такъ зацной Славѣ на Горѣ. Бо маютъ Гуфцы которыи
дела показываютъ гонячихъ Церкви Божой доброродѣйствахъ добываютъ.
Пристоитъ такъ зацной славѣ на Горѣ. Чрозъ мая такъ
знаменитыи и немаль вроконыи твои поступки на Гору

[illegible]

вѣчную опроважати побожныхъ людій звыкли. Пристоитъ запевне гды за вступленіемъ слнца в знаки полуночныи свѣтъ земный з зимы ся свѣтитъ, Горы квѣтками одѣваются, и взросъ утѣшаючи фарбуетъ, а скрывающіися гды слнце пребытное з подземныхъ краевъ вынікнувши, душу знову на Гору стіа поноситъ. Отвориже ВЕЛМОЖНЫЙ ПАТРОНЕ ворота зычливости твоей той ГОРѢ которая ся кождому отворомъ ставали. Отвори хоть подлой и невымеинитой, однакоже правдивой и нелѣсливой: поневажъ Правда и щирость хотъ и найубожшихъ велікой завше у тебѣ поваги естъ.

Найменшій з Братіи общежителной
Монастыря Печерского,

Привелебности твоей

в Дусѣ сынъ и послушникъ.

Софроній Почаскій
Гумнаситѣ Кіевскаго Мона: Печер:
Реторики Професоръ.



С[illegible] [illegible] зоставуєтъ, Шарлатъ и Корѡны,
Кого Бгъ взываетъ до своєи ѡбороны.
Шасливый Пречестнѣйшій ѠАРХИМАНДРИТѠ,
Которомꙋ [illegible] Бгъ єстъ ѿкрыто.
За[illegible], Славы, ѿ здобы, то все пологом,
Вѣра і [illegible] до Бга, што [illegible] головою.

Гели-

ГЕЛИКОНЪ.

ТОЕСТЬ,

САДЪ УМѢЕТНОСТИ

ПЕРВЫЙ.

Отъ самъ Кореній вызволеныхъ Наукъ в собѣ маючій, Пре Пречестнѣйшого в Хр(ист)ѣ Мл(сти): Г(оспо)д(и)на Отца Кѵр ПЕТРА МОГИЛЫ въ РОССІИ ново фундованый.

ВДЯЧНОСТЬ.

Геликонъ жродло Наукъ вдячность посылаєть
З своей Отч(изны). Стыни бо в ней мѣстце маєть.

ГЕЛИКОНЪ.

Старыхъ гордость поганшовъ єсть свѣтъ наполнила,
Скорш толкой глупство мудро заслонила:
Бо ганей Наукъ початокъ з Гиппокрену маєтъ.
Южъ Пегасаамъ пасеби з Кадмомъ высылаєтъ.
Чемужъ барзѣй неналъ Честь тая теперъ служитъ,
Котрый власность праведныхъ Наукъ перачи паложилъ.
Кто невѣдомъ нашъ Мудрость з Едема Сіону:
Подана єсть; а то фалшъ жебы з Геликону.

А҆ на́мъ за́съ ѿ Сїѡ́на, За́конъ, Му́дростъ, Вѣ́ру
даровано за тымъ те́жъ и҆ сла́вы на́ мѣ́ру.
Приступай Геликѡ́не, да́й тє́та позна́й Па́на!
Ѿвѣтившии Холнѣ́рство прибитай Гетма́на.
На клопи верхъ з по неба до земного до́лу,
Зветта́жцу та́мъ питка́ешъ з ба́знами пепо́лу.
В ѡсо́бѣ твоей свѣтлой, Ѿче велебнѣ́йшїй,
Вита́й Кро́ла, ви́жу Трїумфъ превзацнѣ́йшїй.
Ю҆жъ Геликѡнии з Фе́бомъ роско́шными хова́ти,
Не позво́ли и Пѣ́сней вда́тныхъ на́мъ спѣва́ти.
То твое́й Превеле́бной все служитъ ѡсо́бѣ,
Высо́кое в высо́кой И҆ма́ бытъ ѡздо́бѣ.

Стефа́нъ Стрѣбыль.

КО́РЕНЬ У҆ЧЕ́НОСТИ
ПЕ́РШЇЙ.
ГРАММА́ТІКА,
У҆читъ Сло́въ и҆ Мо́вы.

Розумному по Не́бомъ где мѣстце зебра́ти,
Позво́лено, та́мъ мо́жешъ то ла́твo позна́ти,

Я҆ко́го

Якогѡ бы пожиткꙋ было и похвалы.

Слѡвъ складанья Наꙋка, пре́тасъ такъ немалый.

Хто бы вѣдалъ иныхъ звано Киты водъ глꙋбокихъ,

На повѣтрꙋ и землѣ мешканцѡвъ широкихъ.

Еще людемъ и на тыхъ потребна есть мова,

Хто не глꙋпый зажъ не тотъ що не мови слова;

Неднꙋбнея: бо не́дысь до згоды прикованый,

Тожъ побѣди Сынъ з Маи по завдалмъ спытакый.

Н а теды спытавши, если не по мови

Знать Ретора, Поетꙋ, домъ глꙋпство ѡслови.

Тотъ Корень в твоемъ Садѣ Ѡтче Пречестнѣйшїй,

Зацвитнетъ з Геликѡномъ на Слнцѣ пышнѣйшїй,

Кгды в Рѡссїи потомокъ славныхъ Роксоланѡвъ,

в Наꙋкахъ поровнаетъ премꙋдрыхъ поганѡвъ.

Тылко абы Звитязцы Пекелногѡ Смока,

Заховалъ вцале вѣрꙋ правды з востока.

А где Слнцꙋ есть мѣстце: тогожъ досягаетъ,

Твое Имя кгды мѣстце в Грамматицѣ маетъ.

Григорїй Трипольскїй.

КОРЕНЬ ЦВѢТНОСТИ, ВТОРЫЙ.

РЕТОРИКА

Учитъ Словъ и Вымовы.

Кдыбы в земли Египской не Ниловы воды,
Зъвше бы, бе пожитку были огороды.
Нилъ в Египте хлебъ множитъ з Нилу весь достатокъ
Питье, покармъ и пришлыхъ пожитковъ задатокъ:
Летъ на меру гды берегъ вода превышаетъ,
Южъ в томъ року жизности земля не пущаетъ.
Албо мнеи нежъ потреба гды воды приноситъ,
Мнеи тежъ и того лета травы косаръ коситъ.
Красомовство зачите, тогожъ подобенства,
Было негдысь у старыхъ: бо кды набоженства
Учитъ: тамъ урожай цвитъ, приноситъ обфитый,
Гды зась впротивъ: упадокъ души знаменитый.
Мерность речь дорогая, кто ся в ней кохаетъ,
На веселье болшъ в жизни ничого не знаетъ.
Пресветлейший нашъ Отче Прометеемъ званый,
Отсель будешъ в РОССІИ, за померковыный.
Нуртъ реки Красомовства, ижъ початокъ Нилу,
Будетъ знати Поета, бо о тебе силу
Нилъ понималъ Седможродлныхъ ижъ Наукъ высокихъ,
Южъ потечетъ до границъ РОССІИ широкихъ.

Реторика звитязцу з триумфомъ витаєтъ,
Але и продъ на ПАТРОНА пильно поглядаєтъ:
При немъ триумфалный день будетъ отправляти,
ФУНДАТОРА тежъ в вѣчной славѣ фундовати.

Алеξандеръ Ѡлексинчъ.

КОРЕНЬ УМѢЕТНОСТИ ТРЕТІЙ.

ДІАЛЕКТІКА

Учитъ розумного в речахъ познаваня.

Прежде штучнымъ фалшивыхъ розмовъ ѡшукаємъ,
А щирымъ ѿ неправды правды розезнаємъ,
Тамъ даєтъ Наука способовъ досвѣдченя,
Тужъ вѣдомость приноситъ скрытого створеня.
За тымъ Розумъ светелный блеглость в каждой речи,
Якъ рострепне мовати зрадыся стрети.
Такъ якъ бы ѡво Слнце, где мглу розганяєтъ
Дождъ, Громы, темности, а день розясняєтъ:
Нѣдто в кротце доводомъ кого поконати,
Латво можешъ, и мудре філософовати.

Те́рпемъ ѡстрымъ то́тъ ко́рень зове́тъ Стагири́та,
Карнеаде́съ и҆ма́мꙋ, да́лъ мо́рского Ки́та.
Не́хже квитне́тъ то́тъ ко́рень въ твое́мъ Гелико́нѣ,
Пресвѣтлы́й на́шъ Ѡ҆тче, къ вѣ́рныхъ ѡ҆боро́нѣ:
Бы́ снать въ Це́ркви Сі́ѡнской, ѡ҆во́цъ е҆гѡ̀ цвѣ́тꙋ
Ю҆́жъ ѡ҆свѣ́дчилъ Хрⷭ҇то́, змертвы́хъ вста́лъ Свѣ́тꙋ:
Не́хъ въ зро́къ те́рне мꙋ́дрости тепе́ръ ко́летъ смꙋ́тныхъ
Базили́шковъ ѹ҆чи́телнихъ, а҆спидо́въ ѡ҆крꙋ́тныхъ:
Што́ль сла́ва Моги́лѡмъ въ вѣ́кида повста́нетъ,
И҆ лилѣ́а высо́кихъ цнѡ́тъ и҆хъ не ѹ҆вѧ́нетъ.

Самꙋ́ель Мꙋжило́вскій.

Ко́рень ѹ҆мѣ́етности, четве́ртый.

А҆ріѳме́тіка

Ѹ҆чне́тъ лі́чбы.

Е҆́стъ мѣ́стце на высо́комъ, землѣ̑ положе́но,
Трꙋ́дной гори́цы на́зываетъ лю́демъ въ прохо́жено,
Ѿкаса́лое мѣ́стце, и҆ ве́рхъ знамени́тый,
Лѣтъ гости́нецъ въ пре́йсти ба́рзо неѹжи́тый,

На вѣ-

На верху том преславном Палма вырастает,
А на Палме зась Цнота гнездо свое мает,
Има место Час долгий, и многии лета,
До заплена трудный ѿ початку Свѣта,
Але скоро рахунок з Науки притупит,
Праца, трудно, з старанием зарас оуступит:
Бо оумыслии познаеш, зличиш Мириады,
А твѣи нехай Геркулесъ переплов Циклади,
Пропорцій досвѣдчишъ межи поровнанем
Дна з коси, а правдивым свѣтъ ѿ правовалем.
Ѿ так дивный тот способъ и барзо хвалебный,
Фундатор цных Наук Ѿте Превелебный.
Подалесъ нам в Россїи знати уставах мѣру,
В том покажем Ѿступным фалш их и невѣру:
Твоей ѿ нас Честности, покы часу станет,
Вдячность з Наук подана, нигды не устанет.

Андрей Черхавский

КОРЕНЬ УМѢЕТНОСТИ,

ПЯТЫЙ.

МУЗИКА

Учитъ спѣвати.

Хо

Хотъ то̂ пердысь строфовалъ Философъ оубогїй
Дїогенисъ Музикωвъ, гдѣ̄ цноты дороги
Занедбавши, на̄ Лютнахъ Вантъ модеровали,
Нестройнїе в̾ω̂вытахъ нестройныхъ спѣвали:
Нѣгды єднакъ в̾томъ вини̑, Наука немаетъ,
Вгды̑ оучатїй Науцѣ самъ не̄ подлегаетъ.
Музика цвѣтъ вѣла, корень Пѣснїй знатныхъ
Музыча садъ оутѣхи, жродло мыслїй вдатныхъ:
Ѡрфеωва спѣвала лѣсы, рѣки, скалы
Здумѣвшися слухали, и̂ Єурипъ нестаглый:
Тужъ в̾тропы шолъ Звѣ̑ръ дикїй, птакω̑ крысъ многω,
Вдатности потягненый голосу такогω.
Але слушнѣй заисте, правда потребуетъ
Спѣвала, гдѣ̄ Науки доброе керуетъ:
Показалъ то̂ Цр̑ковный Филаръ барзо частный,
Всей Сурїей ωздоба, Дамаскинъ прекрасный.
Бо̂ день Пасхи и̂ Встаня ω̄ мертвыхъ спѣваетъ,
Воскресшаго времъ Хр̑а часно ω̂свѣдчаетъ.
Хр̑ъ трууфъ весолый и̂ тотъ день хваленый
В̾ Гумнахъ вдатныхъ целебруй Ѿце Превелебный

Василїй Климовичъ.

Ко-

КОРЕНЬ УМѢЕТНОСТИ ШЕСТЫЙ.

ГЕОМЕТРІА

Учитъ землю розмѣрять.

Ксенофанесъ значнѣйшій з Философовъ давныхъ
Обыватель з Грецiи Колофоновъ славныхъ,
Архетупомъ нѣякимъ Бога называти:
Безъ початку и конца казалъ признавати:
Змыслилъ една тотъ Мудрецъ, бо розумъ в поганской
Еще ховалъ темности, и бладзи шатанской.
Геометра в Познаню правдивомъ о Богу
Юж будучи, такъ и даетъ перестрогу.
Богъ не естъ фигуралный, але круглость свѣту
Припишетъ, личбу дневи, а отмѣнность лѣту.
Кто хочетъ земли, небо и всѣ Елемента
Познати, Геометресъ подаетъ документа,
На шестьдесятъ всю землю частій розмѣряетъ,
Архимедесъ на Сферы небо розделяетъ:
Летъ найвышшій Вымѣрникъ, з подъ землѣ выходитъ,
И блазнѣвъ своихъ множество з собою приводитъ.

Тотъ

Тотъ котрый пади Нбо мѣритъ добротливый,
Нехъ в Наукахъ даруетъ початокъ щасливый.
Твоей зась, Отче, Славѣ конецъ тотъ готуетъ,
В которомъ своихъ вѣрныхъ до Неба приймуетъ,

Василій Каменицкій.

КОРЕНЬ УМѢЕТНОСТИ СЕДМЫЙ.

АСТРОНОМІА

Учитъ бѣговъ Небныхъ.

Где свѣтлый палацъ Фебовъ, розный в будованю,
В положеню высокій, сличный в малюваню;
Где Свѣтлый антарь в немъ, седми лампъ заложоны;
От всѣхъ сторонъ кришталомъ, моцне обточоны;
Где естъ мѣстце Планетом, и звѣздам грунтовны,
Отколь свѣтлость промене спадаетъ кгаровным,
Тамъ мысль тая Наука людскую заноситъ,
Пре що скрытыхъ познае натуръ до насъ вноситъ,
Астрологъ естъ славный, в Зодіацѣ знаетъ
И прето, в рѣчахъ пришлыхъ скутокъ обвѣщаетъ:

Дос.

Довтѣпъ ангелскїй прикрую подыймуетъ працу,
Абы моглъ свѣдомъ быти горнего палацу:
В Науцѣ зась кто добре Звѣздарской цвичоный,
Небарзо в томъ познаню будетъ утружоный.
Щасливѣйшїй есть надъ иныхъ, могу речи смѣле
Астрономъ, бо онъ першїй позналъ Бога в тѣле.
Томужъ Мурру з Кадиломъ нехъ вѣщкове носятъ,
Не Рождество лечъ з мертвыхъ встанїе нехъ голосятъ,
В такой славѣ Арабовъ Астрономъ зоставилъ,
Таковсь честный Отецъ нѣжъ Россїи справилъ.

Михаилъ Полубенскїй.

КОРЕНЬ И ВЕРХЪ

всѣхъ наукъ и умѣетностїй.

ѲЕОЛОГІА

учитъ Божихъ речїй.

Где учинилъ границу, Геркулесъ онъ силный
Працъ своихъ Богатырскихъ, тамъ тежъ Гишпании пилны
Мармуровый поставилъ столпъ, где з Оцеаномъ
Выспа межъ тые подаетъ дѣлнымъ Гадитаномъ:

Тое мѣстце початкомъ всѣхъ водъ єстъ глубокихъ,
З него плынутъ всѣ рѣки до Краевъ широкихъ:
Оттоль берегъ Оцеанъ названехъ своихъ розность.
Оттоль вода приимуетъ в плытии своемъ можность:
Бо где море всей земли, а около обходитъ,
А конецъ до початку незнатне приводитъ,
Оцеаномъ зовится: где зась в посредъ свѣта
Идетъ, розне его чижъ зоветъ Амфитрита.
Тыхже працъ неужитыхъ столпомъ превысокимъ,
Якo тежъ Оцеаномъ именуй глубокимъ
Небеснуи Науку, Мудрости початокъ.
Всѣхъ Наукъ жродло Божихъ, а свѣтски остатокъ;
Звѣтащен Цекропсовъ кто хочетъ зостати,
А учених цныхъ Наукъ самъ неуставати,
За быстрымъ злоторогимъ, кто еленемъ гонитъ,
И з Наукъ и свой пожитокъ, дорогий часъ клонитъ.
Єстъ граница працъ твердыхъ Божская Наука,
Узнаетъ устоны, где и бѣгу мунштука:
Єстъ Колюмна и конецъ працъ Алкминдовыхъ,
Бо всѣй множство пенноси добръ Ласѡмедоновы,
Оцеанъ медоточный. Мудрость Божихъ речій.
Слабый розумъ понати що можетъ человечій,
З того моря выходятъ слодкихъ Наукъ рѣки,
Рѣки а водъ обфитость даютъ по все вѣки:

Ѳеолоїи Ѡкеаномъ нехай называетъ,
Бо тотъ Наукъ, а ѡвъ зась всѣхъ ко жродло маетъ.
Але недопустилесь, Ѡтче велебнѣйшїй
Абы крестъ працъ долги бы столпъ ѡнъ давнѣйшїй.
Оукопалесь Колюмну ѿ зимной Зоны,
При берегахъ Днѣпровыхъ подъ Седмтрїѡны.
Где задержишъ мешканцовъ Россїйскихъ ѡшукани
Иныхъ Наукъ, и в далекомъ пелгримованїи.
Далъ быто Богъ, где бысмы чужихъ Кривологовъ
Понехавши, слухали своихъ Ѳеологовъ.
А впродъ в Церкви славили Христа з Дамаскиномъ,
Духа з Ѡтцемъ хвалили изъ Пресвятымъ Сыномъ.
Мартинъ Суринъ.

ВДЯЧНОСТЬ.

Що Сынъ Матцѣ повиненъ велце оукоханый:
Що слуга Пану в его ласцѣ выхованый:
Що тежъ Пастырь ѡвчарни чулый не ѡспалый,
Ѡ повѣренномъ собѣ стадѣ завше дбалый:
Тось оучинилъ Сынъ Церкви, Ѡтче Претестнѣйшїй:
Тось справилъ слуга Богу, и естесь вѣрнѣйшїй:
Тось тежъ Лаврѣ выконалъ Пастырства твоего,
В прибротности неплѣнныхъ где стада своего.

Црковъ Матка Сыновъ, ижъ еи прагнены
    Премудрость учинилесь, подасть выживе :
Панъ тежъ слугъ, Богъ творцъ. за верно в подданствѣ
    Нагородитъ, по смерти в вѣчнистномъ Панствѣ :
Мы зась овцы Пастыру, духовный добытокъ
    Принесемо, з ѡбтарни Надѣкъ на пожитокъ.
З добрыхъ Ѿцевъ доброе потомство ся родитъ,
    За цнотливымъ цнотливый Слуга паномъ ходит:
Пастыръ тежъ недоспалый, доброть овецъ знаетъ,
    Злый зась претъ з овчарнѣ, завше выкидаетъ.
Ѿцемъ, Паномъ, Пастыромъ, завше нашимъ будь,
    Если насъ в твоей ласце нѣгды не забудешъ.

Филиппъ Цынкалшевскій.

Впре-

Въ Престой Трци
Единосущному, и Единочестному
Бгу,

Честь, Поклонъ, Слава, Вдячность
на вѣки.

Поганское, ω Боже, глупство юж устало,
Которое Іовиша Богомъ называло:
Юж щезло и Поетовъ шаленство утоныхъ,
Бо естъ у всѣхъ Бгъ единъ вмѣсто незличоныхъ.
Прето з нашимъ падаемъ подъ нимъ Геликωномъ,
Передъ страшнымъ твоей Велможности Ѳрономъ.
А единого в трехъ Лицехъ знаемъ тебе ПАНА,
Една Бгу единому, честь будетъ ω дана.
Толко просимъ, спзабъ Сердца горачость в ПАТРОНѢ,
Абы вновомъ загрѣвалъ квѣтки Геликωнѣ.

Іωаннъ Заруцкій.



Если члоѡка своего не жаловалъ в сон
  Зостъ силный Римскій Рыцеръ, што речетъ поком
Вотъ ѡборонилъ ѡчизны Сцевола безпечный,
  З которого повсюдъ Родъ МОГИЛАѠвъ сердечный.
Завше [illegible] Помочника, по томъ где все [illegible] тѣло
  Не толко твое кареть, наше Сцевола [illegible].

ПАРНАССЪ.

АЛБО,

САДЪ УМѢЕТНОСТИ,

ВТОРЫЙ.

Стараньемъ и коштомъ Ясне Превелебнѣйшого въ Хрстѣ его млсти: Гдна Отца Кѵр Петра Могилы, Архимандрита Кіевского, Воеводича Земль Молдавскихъ. Почасть весны особливое къ Народови Россійскому ласки Бжей, Десятъ лѣтъ по раелій Наукъ выхвоеленыхъ юнтъ з себе выпущаетъ.

ВДЯЧНОСТЬ.

Двоеверхій Парнассе понеси до Неба
Имя Славны Могилы, вдячности потреба.

ПАРНАССЪ.

По смутку знавше радость втропы наступуетъ,
По темностахъ зась свѣтло тѣжъ ся показуетъ.
По сухомъ лѣтѣ Осень, з той тежъ ходитъ
Зима, а лѣтѣ прорикливыи з собой приводитъ.

За фрасунком весе́ле з я́бше поступу́етъ,
По Зимѣ тя́жкихъ смутныхъ ве́сну Бгъ дару́етъ.
Ю́жъ весна́ оу тѣхъ побы́хъ, весела но́вого
Криница, а пожа́ръ зга́съ фрасу́нку ста́рого:
Заблиста Гиселѣвскихъ ижъ водъ струменистыхъ.
Жро́дло Пѣсни́й, з Парна́су ѿ кама́лышъ чистыхъ:
При то́мъ те́жъ з поле Антейскихъ Зефи́ры повста́ли,
При́ятье Весны́ весо́лым вѣтромъ [illegible].
Впро́дъ едина́къ в твое́м Са́дѣ спра́ват ѿхоло́ду,
Лѣторо́сли поспѣ́вутъ и да́дутъ погоду,
Фундаторе пова́жный, Цнотъ Паласъ патро́не,
Всѣхъ [illegible] [illegible], всѣхъ Музъ Цитеро́не.
Твой Парна́съ лѣторасли в дачныи видетъ,
И запахомъ роско́шныхъ во́нности выпуща́етъ,
А нимъ свой верхъ до неба онъ вышей подно́ситъ.
Тый [illegible] твой хвале́бный станъ [illegible] голоси́тъ.

Василий Сѣцинский [illegible] Проскура.

ЛѢТОРО́СЛЬ НАУ́КЪ,

ПЕ́РВАЯ

КНИГА

Тое́сть Пѣние в читании Гистори́й.

Дал...

Непомене зоставъ ижъ его̂ тіи жалобы,
Непесни плачемъ днѧ̂ того̂ свѣтлои ѡ҆здобы:
Гупполіта сталого Цекропомъ ѿдавши,
И его̂ несмертелныхъ похвалъ занехавши,
Ѿдавай те звѣтлязци, славу, гоноръ, вѣру,
Нехай его̂ ширится можность до Епиру.
При небномъ земного незабывай вожа,
Въ Хвои ѡвчарни досыть пилного строжа:
А хвалячи дивуйся, якъ естъ непочестыи,
ПЕТР у звѣздатехъ, а у жити якбы кришталь чистый.

Стефанъ Колчицкій.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ
ТРЕТАЯ,
УРАНІЯ
То естъ, Ученіе о бѣглости звѣздарской.

Тужъ ижъ Атлантъ, о Музо, перестанъ зстарѣлымъ
Прешлыи банко вертити, внимания сердцем смѣлы:
Южъ не Кроль Мавританскій Сферы модеруетъ,
Лечъ найвышшій Монарха самъ небомъ керуетъ:

Где

Давныхъ вѣковъ отмѣнный часъ трудне забитый,
Будетъ мати, кто хочетъ, до латво открыты
Скоро толко з Гисторіи Науки набудитъ:
Весьже часъ славства в речахъ завжды побудѣ:
Познаетъ дѣлность славныхъ Россійскихъ Гетмановъ,
Вѣдомости доступитъ вжни мощныхъ Пановъ:
Европу тотъ, Азію, з Африкою змѣритъ,
Котрій розумъ в широкихъ Гисторіяхъ ширитъ:
Летъ гды з земли обернетъ свою мысль до Бга,
З історіи есть простая до нба дорога:
Дай покой, Клио, прошлыи в дѣлности поганой
Хвъ животъ отпуской иди нижъ за Паномъ.

Филонъ Накселскій.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ

вторая,

МЕЛПОМЕНЕ.

Тоестъ збнчіе в писаню Вѣршовъ смутныхъ,

и жалобныхъ.

Часъ, Музо, жалость вѣршовъ смутныхъ отмѣнити.
Часъ з ламенту веселе нижъ тежъ учинити.

Если для справъ высокихъ до пекла дорогу.
Стезьви змыслила, признай то все Богу:
По нимъ тежъ задивуйся, ижъ нетолко старый
Векъ множилъ Богатыревъ, ле и на нестаалы
Поровнаетъ Рыцерwвъ на МОГИЛА давныхъ.
Бо звѣтяжца таемныхъ естъ всего и явныхъ.

Ѳеодоръ Сусло.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ
ПЯТАЯ,
ПОЛУМНІЯ,

То есть, Звичаевъ быстрой памяти многихъ речій.

Памать, Музо, приводишъ на плацъ залецена,
Памать, скарбъ непребраный слитногw мозга:
Где слава Цинеwва, который всѣхъ Римляновъ
Имена мѣлъ в памяти, и розно ихъ становъ:
Ѳемистоклесъ валечный добре памятаетъ,
Гды ѿчины здоровье над все прекладаетъ
Гортензія и Кира, припомниемъ гойнымъ.
Полумнія выславѣ, з уклономъ пристойнымъ:

Ѳле

Гды затмилъ въ двохъ Планетахъ сонце всегw свѣта,
И недалъ розезнати отъ Осени лѣта:
Тотъ правдивый Астрономъ з по земли выводитъ:
Звѣзды душ святыхъ, Отцевъ, ся до неба входитъ:
Але нашъ дужій Атласъ тажаръ досить немалый
Небо носитъ земное, в працахъ невсталый:
Отъ якъ слушне Пречестный Отче въ такой силѣ,
Небо Церковъ двигаешъ в небезпечной хвилѣ;

Максимъ Креловскій.

Лѣторосль наукъ
четвертая,
Каллиопе,
То есть, Цвичее в писанию высоки и поважны речій.

Каллиопе звитяжцовъ преславныхъ похвало
Оумолкни, щось предъ тымъ запоганй ставало,
Не выноси Алцида з Ахиллесомъ дѣлными,
Не залецай Гектора з Енеашемъ силными:
Отто маешъ Рицера, мощій неслыханыхъ,
Звитяжцу на Еребомъ си непоровнаны.

Але ражъ Марамуромъ, роспаматывана
Терпенія Хва буда, изъ мертвыхъ встана.
Зоставъ Музо похвалу на местцу высоко,
Где Бгъ сталъ звезд'ацеи на пескамы гмоком.

Василій Чудновецъ.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬНАУКЪ
ШОСТАЯ,
ОЛАЙЯ

Тоестъ, Чинисе в Пересаю въВершовъ весолыхъ.

Светлый промень Слнечный, весь увеселяетъ,
Гды на земли благѣ весни з Олимпу спущае:
Тогды стада в широкихъ полахъ дознаваютъ,
Обфитои радости, и утеху маютъ,
А пастушокъ убогій, по листемъ буковымъ,
Простый пѣсни складае ритъ, в теніи здоровы:
Аркадскій выдлата на ставлантъ уха
Гды спѣваетъ, онъ зъ дамѣ поки стае духа.
Що за радость намъ всей дни з Слнцемъ завитала,
Азъ Слнцемъ справедливымъ з неба возсіяла;
О зайте весела маемъ зажнвати,
Поки Слнце Хс, светъ намъ будетъ спущати.

Василій Оустрицкій.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ
СЕДМАЯ,
ЄѴТЕРПЕ
То естъ, Цвѣтїе в Спѣвани:

Побѣжъ, Мѵсо, для того Измаръ Ѡрфеови
Любовалася, и Парнасъ скалистый Фебови!
Чили, же онъ пекелныхъ свѣдокъ был палацовъ,
Отъ зась з кровавыхъ ѡходи звѣтлацеи палацовъ;
Не то: ле иншыи спѣвъ моцъ ѡсадба мѣли,
З которои до златныхъ похвалъ приходили:
Ѡрфеово спѣвание, Рѣки, Лѣсы, боры
Тѣшило, Фебово тежъ розжаспало горы.
Тутъ здумѣния Парнасе з Родопомъ высокимъ:
Бо всюде полно Пѣснїи по всемъ широкимъ.
Еслижъ за Кантъ веселый горы людей утѣли:
Слышитѣи выми намъ Радость дании свѣтили.

Георгїй Негресецкїй.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ
ОСМАЯ,

ТЕРѰИХОРЕ

То есть, Цвиченье в Спеван Инструменталном.

То за скуток спевала в тот час показует
Терѱихоре, где Лютни для Песней приймует;
Слодкомыслных, веселых, и надер утешных
Юж тая забав дознаеш, и годне поспешных:
Где Музы на Цитарах, струны напинаюты,
Земле, Неба, и Света початок спеваюты,
Вода, ѡгонь, повѣтре; ѿко вихры, громы,
Слнце, Месяц, и где есть пекелныи домы.
Завитайте нюж до нас на Триумф весело:
Вы ѿ Музы, з Парнассу пресветлое коло:
Тут мелодии, ту Канту, Песней ту потреба.
Бо сам Пан триумфует, котрый зступил з неба.

Еутихий Соболь.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ НАУКЪ
ДЕВЯТАЯ,
ЕРАТѠ,
Албо цвиченье з спеваньи умным.

Ерат

Еслий ѿ злыхъ до добрыхъ рѣчи, приносити
Звыкли люде: не треба злого корити:
Тєды Пафъ ѡпустивши, Музъ, и Цитєру,
При пекєльномъ зостави тò, Єрате, Кацєру:
До пєвныхъ ся Музо приєднайся Тронωвъ.
Там скоштуєш що ѡ́ смак вышших Гєликонώ:
Юж хоры выступують з умиленным спѣвомъ
Допоможи Ангеломъ, святымъ выкрикаєм.
Єслий з доброго сталася злымъ такъ перший,
Второй все то ѿмєнилъ диавола стєрши,
Тєды з Наукъ поганскихъ латво учинити
Християномъ Христову и за свои мѣти

Стефанъ Трипольскій.

ЛѢТОРОСЛЬ, ЦВѢТЪ, И ОЗДОБА

всѣхъ Наукъ, и Умѣстности.

АПОЛЛО.

Оправецъ Планѣт пресвѣтлый, Король звѣздъ всѣлякий,
В давныхъ годинъ ѿмєно, часъ нє єднакий,
Фебе давецъ свѣтлости, всего свѣта око.
Которого в зрок всѣ землѣ займуєт широко:

Спу-

Бо єдни Гієрла з коштом неωшацованымъ
  Несли Пану подарокъ, з скарбу дарованымъ
Хрисолиты, Смарагды, Яспісы, Шафѣры,
  Діаменты, Кораллѣ несли тамъ безмѣры:
Але єдинъ набожшый с подданыхъ, а сталый
  В сєрцу, принесъ до Крола подаротокъ малый,
На долонях ωбудвухъ воды барзо мало,
  Бо му злота Сафѣрωвъ зголa не ставало,
Крол: єднакъ (дивная рѣчъ) приималъ барзо вдячне,
  И убогій подарокъ нагородилъ значне,
Вгды му кονовъ зе злота, внетъ росказалъ дати,
  Абы воды другій разъ мѣлъ в томъ даровати.
Тогожъ и мы прикладомъ, атъ и злото убоги,
  Повинности єднакже нечинимъ дороги:
Воды мало приносимъ з жродел Геликωнскихъ
  Воды ωнъ знакъ давнѣйшій, воды копы конскѣ.
Фундаторе и ωтце намъ Превелебнѣйшій,
  При той водѣ зостаетъ человѣкъ свѣтлѣйшій.
Якъ теды Язонъ Грекωвъ богатилъ преводу
  Такъ мудро дастъ МОГИЛСωМЪ в славѣ ωхолоду.

Спусти на нашъ Хоризонтъ скутокъ твоей моцы,

Бы неусхали ѿ зимы покои ѿвоцы:

Завитай до Печерских садовъ цвѣтородныхъ,

И до краѣвъ Россійскихъ в Науку голодныхъ:

Тамъ впрод звалчишъ Пυтона, Циклопы зголдишъ.

А на приѣздахъ Минервѣ мѣстце приготуешъ.

Естъ Геликонъ, сут Музы, в Парнаско покои,

Заразъ затнут веселый Кант пѣсни с тобои:

Толко славы в звѣтлѣстѣ першомъ уступити,

И плацу похвалъ Богу треба допустити:

Цитры единакъ з Латиною при тобѣ зостанетъ:

И в Наукахъ твой Гоноръ, нигди не устанетъ:

Еще Памятъ вдячности где при тобѣ будетъ,

Меценасъ тежъ Адлетовъ твоихъ не забудетъ:

Що Кролевичъ Тевайский злоты блого справилъ

Тожъ ты Фебе Патроном: бо еси для них вславил.

ВДЯЧНОСТЬ.

Артаксерксесъ в Персіи Кроль нигдысь богатый

Офито земли в злото, в Пурпуры, в шарлаты:

Кгды звычаемъ Королевскимъ, замки своего Панства

Навѣжалъ, в тотъ часъ вѣры досхал ѿ подданства,

ПРЕЧТОЙ, И ПРЕБЛВЕННОЙ
ДВЕ МРІИ,
МТРИ ВЪСКРШАГѠ СПСИТЕЛѦ НАШЕГѠ
ІСА ХА.

Хвала, годность, и поклонъ вдячности
на вѣки.

Преличнаѧ Кролевно, Райскихъ Садовъ Цвѣти,
Выборнѣйшій Клейноте з андій на томъ свѣтѣ.
Мы з своего Парнасу прочъ Феба з Сестрами
Выгнавши, а в немъ просимъ, рачъ мешкати з нами
За ПАТРОНКУ всѣхъ Наукъ тебе признаваемъ,
Мы Паллады Богини ѿ толь нѣжъ незнаемъ:
Але вѣримъ жесь з Божой мудрости намъ дана
Ѿ Пророковъ пре вѣки свѣту ѡбецана.
Про то Наукъ ПАТРОНКО, в ласцѣ тежъ ховати
Того рачъ, кто Науки будетъ фундовати.

Трофимъ Опушкевичъ.

ЗОИЛЕВИ

Невдячному

ВДЯЧНОСТЬ.

Не шарпай злый Зоиле: псимъ зубомъ таемне
Ни отомъ славы людской; бо на тожъ взаемне,
Если трафишъ, дознаешъ якъ камень скалистый
Зубы крушитъ, и псуетъ гвоздъ ногу сталистый.
Кто на мѣстцу высокомъ, през томѹ не шкодитъ:
А где острый гостинецъ, тамъ нихто не доходитъ.
Отпорнистый естъ Отлипъ славы цнотъ МОГИЛАСОВЪ,
Не боитъся шарпанья зубатыхъ Зоиловъ.
Цнотливыхъ людей гвоздемъ, острымъ оттоптаный
Не шарпай его славы быв надер утопный

Ієремія Войнацкій.